THE KOKA SHASTRA

Translated by Alex Comfort

The Indian art of love

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The Koka Shastra

Being the Ratirahasya of Kokkoka and other Medieval Indian Writings on Love

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The Koka Shastra

Translated and with an Introduction
by

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THE KOKA SHASTRA
(The Ratirahasya of Kokkoka)

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Note On Pronunciation

Not all Sanskrit diacritical marks are available. In transliteration of Sanskrit names and words c= English ' ch ' as in chin, and s= English ' sh ' as in ship; r when used as a vowel is pronounced rri (i.e. mrgi is pronounced approximately mrrigi).

PREFACE BY W. G. ARCHER

I

In 1882 Sir Richard Burton and F. F. Arbuthnot founded in London the Kama Shastra Society. Its purpose was to publish 'the Hindu erotic' and amongst the first texts it issued was a medieval Indian classic, the Ananga Ranga or 'Stage of the Love-God'. The book was written in the sixteenth century by an Indian poet, Kalyan Mall, and was a subtle and detailed treatise on love and sex. During the years 1868 to 1879—the period when Arbuthnot worked in Bombay as a senior Indian Civil Servant—the book was still one of the most popular with Indians and, as a means of enlightening the British public on Indian sex, it seemed to Arbuthnot an obvious choice for translation. Burton agreed and in about 1869 Arbuthnot set to work. He employed Indian pundits or scholars and, while translating with them, he found two intriguing references. These named a certain Vatsya as chief authority and respectfully cited his ancient book. In 1872 Arbuthnot went on furlough but on his return to India in 1874 a quest for Vatsya's classic began. 'No Sanscrit library was supposed to be complete without a copy' and although the search was in fact far longer than this claim suggests, at last the book was found. It was the Kama Sutra of about the third century A.D.—the earliest and most profound discussion of love and sex written in India. Once more Arbuthnot sat with pundits. He made a translation and his version, improved and given style by Burton, was the first text to be published by the new society.

Arbuthnot's work did not end here. From the ancient he returned to the medieval and the result was the discovery of a whole series of Indian writings on sex. The latest in date was the Ananga Ranga. The earliest was the Ratira-hasya, 'The secrets of Rati, spouse of the Love-God'. It was known as the Koka Shastra—'the scripture of Koka'—and had been composed in the twelfth century by a poet named Kokkoka. Like the Ananga Ranga it discussed in detail coital postures, forms of love-play, and ways of satisfying a woman's passion. Burton and Arbuthnot did not translate it. They had happened on the book as part of their enquiry into Indian life and were content merely to list it along with other erotic texts. They did not ask what attitudes these expressed, how they differed from the Kama Sutra or how they fitted into an Indian tradition. They rather left them as they were—as books which were 'part of the national life', which might one day help the reader to understand India and from which every Victorian husband could profit. In a footnote to the Ananga Ranga's definition of the woman who can most easily be subdued—'she who has never learned the real delight of carnal copulation'—they wrote 'which allow us to state is the case with most English women and a case to be remedied by constant and intelligent study of the Ananga Ranga scripture'.

Today, as we can see, the importance of these texts is very much greater. There is something ironic in the fact that although Burton and Arbuthnot—two British scholars—discovered them, it was left to a German scholar, Richard Schmidt, to translate and analyse them. There is something equally ironic in the fact that the Koka Shastra has had to wait until now for an English translation, and that it is an English poet and doctor who has had the initiative to produce it. The delay can hardly have been more fortunate since in Dr Alex Comfort's version, the Koka Shastra obtains the sensitive treatment it requires.

Not only does Dr Comfort render the original with discerning skill, but his delicate and lively English communicates the subtle poetry of the original. His version continues the pioneer work on Indian culture begun by Burton and Arbuthnot and enables the English reader to assess for the first time the importance to India of this classic text.

II

Medieval India is not ancient India. The Koka Shastra is not the Kama Sutra. Any discussion of the Koka Shastra must begin with these two axioms for only then can we grasp its true significance.

The Kama Sutra had been put together in the third century A.D. Its author did not claim to be original. He rather summed up existing wisdom. His book had authority and for almost a thousand years no one else wrote anything like it. It was the classic treatise on Indian love and sex.

In the twelfth century, Kokkoka returned to the theme and the very audacity of his step determined, in part, his treatment. Indian life was no longer what it was. A new approach was needed yet the early pages suggest that we are reading a new abridgement of the classic work, a sibling rather than a sequel. Like the later author of the Ananga Ranga, Kokkoka refers with nostalgic reverence to 'the Founder of our Science'. He looks back to Vatsyayana much as the Renaissance looked back to ancient Greece or, as in our own day, Lawrence Durrell, recapturing the spirit of Alexandria, looks back to Cafavy, the 'old poet'. He is a W. H. Auden expressing liberal values and looking back to an older liberal, E. M. Forster.

'Here though the bombs are real and dangerous,
And Italy and King's are far away,
And we're afraid that you will speak to us,
You promise still the inner life shall pay.'

Though he is facing new conditions in India, Kokkoka can never quite rid himself of the feeling that Vatsyayana had expressed the ultimate wisdom—that he had said almost, if not quite, the last word. We find him, therefore, giving an account of his master's principles, distinguishing those which are Vatsyayana's own from those of two other authors on whom Vatsyayana had drawn. Only then can he move to his proper subject—love and sex in his own time. 'This work,' he explains, 'was composed by one Kokkoka, poet, as a light to satisfy the curiosity of the Most Excellent Vainyadatta concerning the art of love.' And he concludes: 'With zeal was this book written by Kokkoka for the greater enjoyment of all lovers.' The questions we must ask are: Who were these lovers? How did they regard the Koka Shastra? What part did Kokkoka's book play in medieval India?

Kokkoka's lovers were obviously very different from those of Vatsyayana. The ancient India of the Kama Sutra was gay and happy. It was like tribal society in modern India—Santal, Uraon and Naga. Women moved freely in public and were not secluded. Girls were courted by young men. Marriage was normal, sometimes on a plural basis. Pre-marital love was common. So too was extra-marital sex. Courtesans were greatly admired, but other women also had sexual adventures. Vatsyayana thought it worth while to discuss these at some length and it is noteworthy how very few kinds of women were really excluded. With women of castes higher than the man's own or with those of the same caste but who had previously been enjoyed by others, sex was strictly forbidden. Certain others, he said, were 'not to be enjoyed' but perhaps more in the sense that he strongly advised against it than of rigid and total prohibition. Some were barred on grounds of hygiene and aesthetics—a leper, a lunatic, a woman who was either over-white or over-black, a bad-smelling woman. Others

were banned for defects of character—a woman turned out of caste, one who reveals secrets, one who is so blatantly riggish that she 'publicly expresses desire for sexual intercourse'. With some, such as near relations and 'female friends'—girls with whom the man had grown up as a child—sex might well be socially too embarrassing. In a similar way a woman who led the life of an ascetic was also to be avoided—perhaps because her mode of life gave her magical charms and sex with her would therefore be dangerous. But apart from these, and always excepting a special code for adultery, sex in ancient India was quite extraordinarily free.

When he composed the Brihat Samhita or Complete System of Natural Astrology in the sixth century A.D., Vaharamihira described what contemporary life was like. It was ruled, he believed, by planets, stars, moon and sun and it was these that accounted for annual variations. Yet the basic pattern was remarkably constant.

'In the course of a year ruled by the Moon, the sky is covered with clouds that, showing the dark hue of snakes, collyrium and buffalo's horn, and resembling mountains in motion, fill the whole earth with pure water and the air with a deep sound such as arouses a feeling of tender longing. The water-sheets are decked with lotuses and water-lilies, the trees are blossoming and the bees humming in the parks; the cows yield abundant milk; lovers unceasingly delight their delightful paramours by amorous sports; the sovereigns rule an earth rich in flourishing towns and mines, in wheat, rice, barley and plantations of sugar-cane, whilst she is dotted with fire-piles and resounding with the noise of greater and smaller sacrifices.'

In a year ruled by the planet Venus, 'Earth is decked with rice and sugar-cane, for the fields are copiously watered by the rain poured from mountain-like clouds; by her numerous tanks adorned with beautiful lotuses, she

shines like a woman brilliant with new ornaments. The rulers of the country destroy their powerful enemies. The good rejoice and the wicked are put down. At spring-time there is much sipping of sweet wine in company with dear loves, much delightful singing accompanied by flute and lute, much feasting in company with guests, friends and kinsfolk and Love's shouts of triumph are ringing in a year ruled by Venus.'

As we relate this account to the Kama Sutra, we are reminded of ancient Rome under the Emperors. There is the same prevalence of over-lapping codes—a code for marriage, a code for sex outside marriage and at all points there is a cult of intensity in love and sex.

In one further way, ancient India and ancient Rome were strangely alike. Roman society took adultery for granted and no attempt was made to square it with Roman ethics or religion. This was how Romans behaved. Vatsyayana had much the same approach. Adultery was a fact in ancient India. It was one of many modes of loving and although he had several reservations, he discussed it with rational calm. It should never, he thought, be lightly undertaken and with wives of relations, Brahmins and Kings, it must definitely be avoided. Yet certain circumstances presented no difficulties. If adultery might lead the woman to influence her husband and if, for business or other reasons, the lover needed to influence the husband, it was the obvious thing to do. At least thirteen such circumstances existed and Vatsyayana explained all of them with patient care. 'For these and similar other reasons,' he said, 'the wives of other men may be resorted to.'

Seductions of this kind were nothing if not calculated. Indeed there is a sense in which Vatsyayana is rational almost to the point of chilly detachment. Yet even as he pleads for a logical approach, he abandons it. He sees that passionate desire—desire of the most frantic and irrational

kind—may override prudence. In such circumstances, intensity was the deciding factor. When 'passion love' was so great that the lover was beside himself with longing, nothing short of adultery might save his life. As a man perceived that his love for a married woman was moving from one degree of intensity to another, from love of the eye to attachment of the mind, and then on to 'constant reflection, destruction of sleep, emaciation of the body, turning away from objects of enjoyment, removal of shame, madness, fainting and finally death'—in such circumstances, there was no alternative.

We meet, in fact, an issue which in some respects is strikingly modern. Denis de Rougemont in Passion and Society has forcibly expounded the view that 'passion love' is fatal. But instead of vindicating adultery, he approaches the problem from the opposite side. To save life, he argues, 'passion love' should be avoided.

'Love and death, a fatal love—in these phrases is summed up, if not the whole of poetry, at least whatever is popular, whatever is universally moving in European literature, alike as regards the oldest legends and the sweetest songs. Happy love has no history. Romance only comes into existence where love is fatal, frowned upon and doomed by life itself. What stirs lyrical poets to their finest flights is neither the delight of the senses nor the fruitful contentment of the settled couple; not the satisfaction of love, but its passion. And passion means suffering. There we have the fundamental fact.

Our eagerness for both novels and films with their identical type of plot; the idealized eroticism that pervades our culture and upbringing and provides the pictures that fill the background of our lives: our desire for 'escape', which a mechanical boredom exacerbates—everything within and about us glorifies passion. Hence the prospect of a passionate experience has come to seem the

promise that we are about to live more fully and more intensely. We look upon passion as a transfiguring force, something beyond delight and pain, an ardent beatitude. In 'passion' we are no longer aware of that 'which suffers', only of what is 'thrilling'. And yet actually passionate love is a misfortune. In this respect manners have undergone no change for centuries, and the community still drives passionate love in nine cases out of ten to take the form of adultery. No doubt lovers can invoke numerous exceptions. But statistics are inexorable and they confute our poetic self-deception.

'Can we be in such a state of delusion, can we have been so thoroughly "mystified", as really to have forgotten the unhappy aspect of passion, or is it that in our heart of hearts we prefer to what must seemingly fulfil our ideal of a harmonious existence something that afflicts and yet elevates us? Let me examine the contradiction more closely, notwithstanding that to do so must seem disagreeable, since it threatens to uncover what we would rather not see. To assert that passionate love is tantamount to adultery is to insist upon a fact which our cult of love both conceals and distorts; it exposes what by the cult is dissimulated, repressed, and left unnamed, so as to leave us free to give ourselves up ardently to something we should never dare claim as our due. In the reader's very objection to recognizing that passion and adultery are commonly indistinguishable in contemporary society, we have a first indication of the paradox that we now desire passion and unhappiness only on condition we need never admit wishing for them as such.'[1]

In ancient India, love and death were equally intermixed. But the approach was the very reverse. Adultery might cause unhappiness, yet, equally, unhappiness might

[1] Denis de Rougemont, Passion and Society (second ed.; reprinted, London, 1962), 15—16.

sanction adultery. Adulterous love was 'fatal'—but only when it was repressed. In practice, therefore, Vatsyayana made large concessions. A man or woman had only to fall in love—to be gripped by an overwhelming passion—for their situation to become 'fatal'. When that happened, all controls and restraints were suspended. Indeed, there is a strange contrast between the Vatsyayana who counsels prudence and the author who faces life as it is. Life in ancient India involved extra-marital love. Life in ancient India had its own rationale. It was more vital than theory. Practice over-rode precept and, as a result, a number of pages in the Kama Sutra discuss in detail how best to seduce a married woman—once the feverish passion is on. It is clear that certain married women were ready to be seduced and the lover had only to follow some obvious rules to love to satiety. Vatsyayana, in fact, returns again and again to love and sex as something a-moral, something which transcends ethics and has its own justifications. He observed: 'A wise man having regard to his reputation should not think of seducing a woman who is apprehensive, timid, not to be trusted, well guarded or possessed of a father-in-law and mother-in-law.' But the implication is plain. Provided the married woman is not handicapped in any of these ways, the lover should bring the affair to its logical conclusion. Then, he calmly sums up, 'Desire, which springs from nature, and which is increased by art and from which all danger is taken away by wisdom, becomes firm and secure. A clever man, depending on his own ability and observing carefully the ideas and thoughts of women and removing the causes of their turning away from men, is generally successful with them.'

Such a philosophy of love and sex—we might almost define it as rapturous opportunism—was part of ancient India. But here we must make an important point. It in

no way conflicted with or contradicted religion. Religion or Dharma did not presuppose communion with God. It was rather a form of public conduct, a set of rites, a series of festivals, a code of offerings and sacrifices. It was these that constituted 'merit'. Life itself was one long series of births and rebirths and whether under Buddhism or Brahmanical Hinduism, the ultimate goal was release from living through integration with God. This was rarely achieved at once. Each life brought a man nearer or further from his goal. What he did in one life affected where he started in the next. By living correctly, by scrupulously observing the proper rites, he gained a better position in his next re-birth. In that way he moved by gradual stages towards ultimate release. Living correctly, however—and this is the vital point—did not exclude loving. It applied rather to aspects of life other than sex. It meant avoiding 'sin'. But 'sin' was more a breach of purity than of ethics. Only if sex involved 'pollution' was it 'sin'. Such 'sin' could be cancelled by deeds of 'merit' and if, despite all lapses, a man's stock of 'merit' was large, he could still be promoted to a higher stage and thus better his final chances. In certain circumstances he could even earn a respite in heaven, a temporary reward for Dharma successfully adhered to in a former life. 'The frequently seen ideal of the Indian, and above all of the warrior, of the blissful life, is intercourse with thousands of lovely women in the bloom of youth, smiling with long lotus-eyes at the man, winding their rounded arms about his neck, and pressing their swelling firm breasts against him—women who press their great swelling hips and thighs like banana-stems against his body, who give lips red as the bimbafruit to be sucked by his and as they in glow in the act of sex not only receive but also give.'[1] Heaven, in fact, is inhabited by celestial glamour-girls

[1] J. J. Meyer, Sexual Life in Ancient India (London, 1952), II, 317—8.

and these are not merely enjoyed in heaven but can sometimes be summoned to earth. Indeed the Ramayana includes a vivid passage describing how a rishi or holy man greets the army of Bharata as it goes to fetch the banished Rama. 'From out of Indra's paradise he called down the whole host of the apsarases and from other heavens other divine women. Twenty thousand of these wondrous beauties were sent by Brahma, twenty thousand by Kubera, twenty thousand by Indra, even the creepers in the forest did the yogi turn into delightful women. Seven or eight of these charming examples of ravishing womanhood gave each warrior, mostly married, their service for the bath and offered him heady drink and the flower-cups of their divine bodies.'[1] Nothing in fact could better illustrate the basic attitudes of ancient India. Not merely is sex one thing and religion another. In certain circumstances love and sex are actual rewards for 'religious' living.

III

Against this bland and sensuous régime, medieval India stood in sharp contrast. The goal of life was still the same. It was a final breaking-out from a chain of births and rebirths.

But the terms of living were now much harsher. Rigid principles had been adumbrated. Morals were tighter. There was more strain.

The first sphere in which a new severity appears is marriage. A medieval text, the Brahma Vaivarta Purana, is in no doubt as to the role of a wife. 'A chaste woman serves her husband, the source of her own dignity. To a chaste woman, the husband is a friend and a god. She is helpless without him. He represents all her prosperity.

[1] *Ibid*, 1, 238.

The husband, the source of her virtue, happiness, contentment, tranquillity and honour can solely appease her jealousy and elevate her to dignity. Of all substantial things in the world prized by a woman, the husband is the best. He is the best of her friends. He maintains her, preserves her, gives her material prosperity, is lord of her life, enjoys her. There is none dearer than the husband to a woman. A son is dear to her, as he is the offspring of her husband. The husband is dearer to a woman than a hundred sons. A wicked woman who does not know the merits of her husband adopts the evil path. Ablution in all holy waters, initiation in all ceremonies, asceticism, vows and gifts of all kinds, fasts, worship of the preceptor or the gods and other difficult rites are not equal in point of merit to a sixteenth part of the devotion of a woman to her husband.'

It follows that chastity is a woman's supreme virtue and the authors of the Brahma Vaivarta Purana do not merely inveigh against an unchaste woman but load a chaste woman with exaggerated praises. Their words are neither musical nor sweet but in general attitude, they strike a note that might almost be Milton's.

'What was that snaky-headed Gorgon shield
That wise Minerva wore, unconquered virgin,
Wherewith she freezed her foes to congealed stone?
But rigid looks of chaste austerity
And noble grace that dashed brute violence
With sudden adoration and blank awe.
So dear to Heaven is saintly chastity,
That when a soul is found sincerely so
A thousand liveried angels lacky her,
Driving far off each thing of sin and guilt,
And in clear dream and solemn vision
Tell her of things that no gross ear can hear,

. . . Till all be made immortal: but when lust
By unchaste looks, loose gestures and foul talk
But most by lewd and lavish act of sin
Lets in defilement to the inward parts
The soul grows clotted by contagion
Imbodies and imbrutes till she quite loose
The divine property of her first being.'

It is hardly surprising that, in such circumstances, adultery should be denounced as the most heinous of offences. Not only does it defy the ideal so eloquently proclaimed but, in accordance with the ever-increasing importance attached to 'purity', it flouts society in its most sensitive sphere. It is a crime against the husband on two grounds. It insults his position but, even more, it ceremonially pollutes him and, for these reasons, it carries terrible penalties.

'Whoever enjoys the society of a woman courted by another man dwells in the hell called the thread of time so long as the sun and the moon exist. A vile woman is not fit for an act sacred to the manes or the gods. The husband loses his grace and valour by embracing her. Brahma himself has said that oblations to fire or offerings of water made by such a man do not satisfy the gods or the manes. That is why learned men carefully preserve their wives; otherwise they are consigned to hell. A wife and a cooking vessel should always be carefully preserved; for they are consecrated by the touch of the owner and desecrated by the touch of others. A woman who defrauds her husband and courts another lover is consigned to hell as long as the sun and the moon exist. The myrmidons of Yama (the god of death) chastise her if, afflicted with tortures, she tries to run away. She is always bitten there by worms as big as snakes. The bite causes her to scream in pain but does not affect her life. For the

sake of pleasure, which only lasts for a few minutes, the wretch forfeits fair fame in this world and is consigned to hell hereafter. Therefore the virtuous try their best to shield their wives from the gaze of others. In a word, the woman is truly blessed who is not touched even by the rays of the sun. A vile woman who is independent of the control of her husband resembles a sow in all her features.' No writer in ancient India would have expressed so complete a repugnance or done it in so shrill and virulent a manner.

Yet if women must be moral so also should men and, in the medieval conception of religion, human virtues were sometimes those of God himself. By the sixth century, God was being thought of as the Hindu Trinity. This comprised Brahma the Creator, Vishnu the loving Preserver and Siva the Procreator and Destroyer. It was by directly approaching Vishnu and Siva—reciting their names, saying prayers, making offerings—that a man not only lived a better life but life itself was better: Before the Indian Middle Ages, Vishnu had had nine incarnations. He had taken flesh, dwelt on earth, killed demons and supported the righteous. His early incarnations do not concern us but his seventh, Rama, is the equivalent in religion of the very moralistic code we have just discussed. Rama embodies virtue. He is moral. He observes the rules of Dharma. He is a model king with a model consort, Sita. When Sita is abducted by a demon, he searches for her until he finds her. But morality must not only be respected but seen to be respected. Although Sita was abducted, she has in fact preserved her chastity. Rama's subjects cannot believe this for the very situation in their eyes had made chastity impossible. In deference to the new morality, Rama therefore discards Sita—violating in the process human 'goodness' but powerfully reinforcing the current ideals of marriage and chastity. In the form of

Rama, the 'moral man', the 'ideal hero', Vishnu appealed to much of medieval India for his worship involved not only love of God but love of morals.

So stern an ordering of life, so blatant a denial of the senses provoked its own reaction. When rigid fixity informs society, when sex is viewed with shuddering disapproval except when strictly moral, the very fact of repression engenders revolt. In medieval India, religion itself developed certain cults and sects as if in compensation. In these cults, passionate abandonment was given direct expression and sex received mystical and symbolic interpretations.

A first sign of this contrary tendency is the cult of Krishna, the divine lover. Following Rama, Krishna had been born as Vishnu's eighth incarnation. His purpose was to slay demons and encourage the righteous. He was born a prince and brought up, not in princely circles, but among cowherds. During his brief idyllic youth, he made love to all the young married women. He also ridiculed offerings and sacrifices, humbled Indra, the conventional lord of the gods and outwitted the city Brahmins (or official priesthood) of Mathura by inducing their wives to meet him against their husbands' wishes. Among the cowgirls he had a special love, Radha, and his love for her and the other cowgirls involved the very 'crime' inveighed against in the Brahma Vaivarta Purana. Indeed this Purana, confronted by so defiant a breach of medieval morals, endeavours to persuade the reader that Krishna's love for Radha was not at all adulterous—that from eternity they have in fact been married. Its special pleading is totally unconvincing for the meaning of Krishna's romance with Radha is that it places love before duty. Vishnu as Krishna brings a new element into Indian religion—an element which goes to the opposite extreme from that of Rama. Love, from being outside religion, is

made its crux. Love of Krishna or Vishnu—enraptured devotion to the holy character and name—could win the devotee immediate 'release'. It short-circuited the laborious process of births and rebirths, the painful climbing from one level to the next. It was an act of grace, a grant of salvation, a divine reward not for correct living but for love and adoration.

Such love was not sexual love but sexual love was its closest analogy. In the sixth century, Krishna's story was included in the Vishnu Purana but its full meaning was suppressed. In the tenth century, it was told in greater detail in the Bhagavata Purana and although Radha's name was omitted, Krishna's sexual raptures with the cowgirl were conceded. It is only in the twelfth century—at the time when Kokkoka was writing his treatise—that the meaning latent in the story was given clear expression. The Sanskrit poet, Jayadeva, not only mentions Radha but makes her romance with Krishna the very heart of his great poem, the Gita Govinda. Their love is nothing if not sexual but the relationship is viewed as a mystical allegory. Radha in adoring Krishna is the soul adoring God. Adoration is the supreme type of 'merit'. In sexual rapture, there is a sense of self-extinction and this is a symbol of the soul's extinction in God. To love God, the lover, was thus not only to obtain a mystical experience but to win salvation. While medieval India was pressing romantic love out of life, Indian religion was contemplating adultery.

The same 'annexation' of sex by religion is reflected in the worship of Siva. In contrast to the mild benign Vishnu, Siva was thought of as a strange erratic being, full of moods and furies, responsible for what was sudden and unexpected, a destroyer but also a procreator. His worship like Vishnu's involved daily prayers but these were to avert disaster and obtain boons rather than to

save. It was impossible to adore Siva. The most you could do was to model your life on his wild ascetic practices and humour his tantrums. His idol was a phallus or lingam set in the yoni or female organ and the very starkness of the symbol gave sex a new significance. It was by adoring the lingam that childless women sometimes got children and men themselves obtained insight. Besides the cult of Siva, other cults resorted to sexual symbolism. The secret force behind the universe was sometimes regarded as female, even as maternal, and, in the cult of shakti, woman became a sacred object, an incarnation of the Mother. Sensual ecstasy was also identified with 'annihilation', and among certain sub-cults of Siva intensity was the key to worship. These cults were practised by secret societies. They involved acts of sex but their very prevalence proves how far medieval India had travelled from the gay and carefree state of early India.

This new upsurgence was reflected in medieval temples and sculptures. Temples were usually reserved for Vishnu himself or for Siva. Each resembled a palace in which, attended by gods and dancing-girls, Vishnu and Siva held majestic court. Sculpture contributed to this effect. Ascending the temple façade in row upon row, sculptures of the gods mingled with bands of glamour-girls—each girl with her slim vertical form reinforcing the feeling of exaltation induced by the upward sweep of the building itself, while her sexual charm hinted at the rapturous nature of union with God. This erotic element was, at times, taken still further and lovers were sculpted in the act of union. Their poses, as Dr Comfort has pointed out, do not tally with any of those described by either Vatsyayana or Kokkoka and we can perhaps explain them on only two hypotheses. Their strange acrobatics, their very impossibility—at Khajuraho the lover is even standing on his head—gives them an air of ideal

fantasy. It is as if the artificial and extravagant have acquired a special value, as if only through the unknown and the abnormal can sexual frenzy be fully conveyed. Just as a period of nervous strain, of cultural malaise, may well have underlain the Mannerist movement in Western art, strain in medieval India may also have evoked the same kind of fevered sexuality.

A second viewpoint would regard all standing lovers as in fact supine, yet shown, for purposes of architecture, as vertical. Supine or horizontal designs and compositions would detract from the upward surge of the temple. They would be appropriate in 'feminine' buildings such as the Jefferson Memorial, Washington, or the National Gallery, London—buildings whose flat lines support a rounded breast-like dome and whose masculine counterparts are such nearby structures as Nelson's column or the Washington Monument. Temples in medieval India were male in their own right. Their towers were like lingams. As sculpture, then, the lovers' vertical positions are geared to this conception. But lay them down, make the necessary mental adjustment and what is wild and fantastic is once again conventional.

Such sculptures may well have had two roles. If in early India sex was regarded as inherently noble, sexual rapture was the most compelling analogy for the final beatitude. It showed what Indian religion was about. 'In the embrace of his beloved, a man forgets the whole world—everything both within and without; in the same way he who embraces the Self knows neither within nor without.' The words are from an ancient text, the Brihadaranyaka Upaniṣhad, but they sum up a whole way of Indian thought. Assuming the medieval trend towards glad identification, loving couples have thus a clear and unambiguous function. At the same time, the very fact that sex is public and religious—that the couples are sometimes

aided by other girls—that it is something unusual and abnormal, gives them a second function. Here is sex pursued with daring abandonment, sex that in its freedom appears to exemplify romance and passion. What is condemned in actual life is countenanced in sculpture and religion.

IV

It was for such a society that the erotic books of medieval India, the Koka Shastra and the Ananga Ranga, were written. They mirrored life as it had now become and both in character and in attitude their 'lovers' are quite new. For ardent seducers and roving adventurers, there was now but little scope. Men and women no longer met socially. Pre-marital courtship had gone out. Woman's place was in the home and there she was constantly invigilated. As a young girl, a child, she was married before she reached puberty. Romance had been banished and in its place had come an even sharper stress on wifely duty. For the very powerful or the very rich, variety in sex might still be possible. But it was obtained more by marrying many wives, installing concubines or hiring dancing-girls and prostitutes than by free adventure. At Mandu in Central India in the fifteenth century, a Khilji ruler created a whole 'city of women' by marshalling 15,000 women at his court. Later, in the sixteenth century, his Pathan successor, Prince Baz Bahadur, fell in love with a Hindu courtesan, Rupmati. Their romance was as free as in ancient India—the two lovers riding together at night and gazing into each other's eyes. Such a romance, however, was so abnormal that it later took on a legendary glamour. From the eighteenth century onwards, Baz Bahadur and Rupmati were portrayed in Indian painting as vivid examplars of romance, as rivals in actual life to

lovers in poetry. Only a relationship that cut right across accepted conduct could have evoked such frequent or such fervent celebration. In medieval India as a whole, quite other norms prevailed. We reach, therefore, a surprising postition. In both the Koka Shastra and the Ananga Ranga, the lover of ancient India has almost ceased to exist. The men for whom these books were written were not lovers but husbands.

This purpose is stated with forceful clarity in the Ananga Ranga. 'No one yet has written a book to prevent the separation of the married pair and to show them how they may pass through life in union. Seeing this (its author writes), I felt compassion and composed the treatise.' Sex outside marriage was disastrous and in order to combat its chief cause—'the want of varied pleasures' and 'the monotony which follows possession', he explains how 'the husband, by varying the enjoyment of his wife, may live with her as with thirty-two different women, ever varying the enjoyment of her and rendering satiety impossible'. He concludes: 'If husband and wife live together in close agreement, as one soul in a single body, they shall be happy in this world, and in that to come. Their good and charitable actions will be an example to mankind and their peace and harmony will effect their salvation'. He then lists all the factors on which sex in marriage depends, urging again and again that woman's need for 'carnal enjoyment' is paramount and that only if the woman is satisfied can the husband be pleased. The Ananga Ranga is a marriage manual, not a lover's handbook.

Yet its poet-author was clearly faced with a strange predicament. Romance might be rare. It might even be inimical to marriage. But society needed to believe that it could none the less happen. In this respect medieval India was, in fact, not unlike modern France. The French, we

are told, are adept in liaisons, in adventurous romances, in a whole range of extra-marital sprees. These are the French as the repressed and puritanical British would like to see them. The reality is suggested by a French woman writing in The New Statesman. 'To the question, "What does a woman need to be happy?", not one in a thousand replied "a good job". And a still more surprising fact, not one in four replied "Love is necessary for happiness". "Love to them," she adds, "seems to mean danger. Poetry, passion, romance: these are interesting when other people experience them, when they can be enjoyed vicariously in magazines, films and books. The important thing to French women is not to experience love but to assure themselves that it can exist."'

It was to assure medieval India that love could still exist that the author of the Ananga Ranga evolved a compromise. Adhering to marriage as the one true goal, he revived the more romantic part of the Kama Sutra but with a difference. Following Vatsyayana, he describes what kinds of women lend themselves most readily to seduction, how go-betweens can help and where intrigues should be carried on. He describes but, at the same time, he deprecates. He minimizes chances. He magnifies what is forbidden. Even his manner is different. Where the Kama Sutra is calm, neutral and objective, the Ananga Ranga at times resembles the Brahma Vaivarta Purana in its shrill invective. 'The following women are absolutely and under all circumstances to be excluded from commerce. The wife of a Brahmin, of a Brahmin learned in the Vedas, of a priest who keeps up the sacred fire and of a Puranik (reader of the Puranas). To look significantly at such a woman, or to think of her with a view to sensual desire, is highly improper: what then, must we think of the sin of carnal copulation with her? In like manner men prepare to go to hell by lying with the wife

of a king or any man of the warrior caste; of a friend or of a relation. The author of the book strongly warns and commands his readers to avoid all such deadly sins.' Finally he adds a further twenty-four other types of women, who, he says, 'are never to be enjoyed, however much a man may be tempted'. Vatsyayana had listed only two.

There is the same severe restriction on times and places. With few exceptions, a man must not make love by day or in the evening, but only at night. He must not make love in either the hot weather or the cold. Only spring-time and the Rains are left. He must not make love when ill with fever, tired from travel, when observing a religious rite or at the new moon. 'The consequences of congress at such epochs are as disastrous as if the act took place in a prohibited spot.'

Places are equally limited. The poet bans fourteen in all, among them 'by the side of a river or any murmuring stream, on a highway, in the forest, in an open place such as a meadow or an upland, in a house of another person'. 'The consequences of carnal connection at such places are always disastrous.' Admittedly some places still remain, but they are very few. When Kalyan Mall does describe a place for love-making, he abandons all pretence of realism and merely quotes the Kama Sutra. 'The following is the situation which the wise men of old have described as being best fitted for sexual intercourse with women.' And he describes the man-about-town's luxurious house with all its elegant amenities. Few such opportunities existed in medieval India. The passage was merely a romantic harking back to an old and ideal past.

In the same way, menacing disapproval awaits the adulterer. The Kama Sutra had laid down the classical situation in which adultery was not merely permissible but absolutely necessary. It was when a man was so totally in love that nothing else could save his life. In the

Ananga Ranga, this is quoted but even so it is reckoned a disaster. 'There are seven kinds of trouble which result from having intercourse with the wife of another man. Firstly, adultery shortens or lessens the period of life; secondly, the body becomes spiritless and vigourless; thirdly, the world derides and reproaches the lover; fourthly, he despises himself; fifthly his wealth greatly decreases; sixthly, he suffers much in this world; and seventhly, he will suffer more in the world to come.' He may save his life but at the price of 'ignomy, disgrace and contumely'. The Kama Sutra had been far more tolerant and humane.

In the end, it is only sex within marriage that the Ananga Ranga can truly countenance. For this, its author had abiding admiration. Indeed it is a sign of how far medieval India has moved that, in dividing women into four types according to their temperaments and physiques, he makes each an analogue of salvation—of Moksha or release from further transmigration. 'The name of woman,' he says, 'is Nari which, being interpreted, means No "Ari" or foe; and such is Moksha or absorption because all love it and it loves all mankind.' The padmini or 'lotus' lady is accordingly 'sword-release' or absorption into the essence of the Deity. The chitrini or 'picture' lady is 'like those who having been incarnated as gods, perform manifold and wonderful works'. She is 'nearness to the Deity, being born in the Divine Presence'. The shankhini or 'conch-shell' lady resembles the Deity 'in limbs and material body'—even as the man who takes the form of Vishnu bears upon his body the conch-shell, the discus and other emblems of that god'. The hastini or 'elephant' lady is the 'residence in the heaven of some special god'. 'She is what residence in Vishnu's heaven is to those of the fourth class who have attributes and properties, shape and form, hands and feet.' In this treatment it is as if sex is a

re-enactment of different methods of salvation, a form of religion. What sex in marriage has lost in passion, it has gained in spiritual mystery.

V

The same attitude illuminates the Koka Shastra. Kokkoka, it is true, does not use metaphysical terms or invest each type of woman with cosmic significance. The grand apotheosis of woman has still to come. But he is acutely aware of what life is—of what is practical and what is not. He is concerned with how to make the most of sex, how to enjoy it and how to keep a woman happy. Moreover, like his learned successor, he takes it for granted that almost by definition the partner in sex will be the wife. It is for the wife that he instructs his lovers in the four types of women, tells them how to induce orgasms and how success in sex is affected by varieties of organ, temperament and disposition. Women, he knows, differ from place to place. Local customs vary. These are all matters which a husband must bear in mind. For the rest, his account of embraces, kisses, love-marks, love-blows, love-cries and sexual postures has only one aim—to improve the art of sex. But sex is nothing without delicacy and, as he adverts to physical details, he charges them with poetry. The Koka Shastra is not a piece of prose. It is very different from the Kama Sutra. It is neither terse, bald nor plain. Its descriptions keep nothing back but Kokkoka's style invests them with charm and exhilaration. To read his book is not to suffer medical instruction. It is to gain a lively, new appreciation.

This vivifying influence is carried further in its treatment of 'passion love'. The lover is admittedly the husband but the dwindling in romance, the loss of adventure is something to which Kokkoka's husbands have still to be reconciled. They are, in this respect, no different from

those of Kalyan Mall. Like the Ananga Ranga, therefore, the Koka Shastra refers in part to ancient India. Although this 'brave old world' had gone, some few traces of its customs remained and these Kokkoka carefully noted. He describes, for example, the kind of embraces possible during sudden slight encounters. 'When a man meets a woman on some other errand and contrives in so doing to touch her body'—that is one kind. 'If they walk together at a procession or in the dark and their bodies touch for a considerable time. This is the embrace by rubbing. If one presses the other against a wall, it becomes the embrace by pressing.' Even in medieval India these casual encounters could sometimes happen. Similarly, seduction, although difficult, might in certain abnormal circumstances occur. He lists different types of women by age, remarking that one who is between sixteen and thirty 'responds to presents of jewellery' and that an old woman—'one who is over fifty'—is won by courteous speeches and 'by stuffing her with promises of marriage'. He would hardly mention this if adventurous dealings were totally ruled out. For the rest, he describes extra-marital sex not as it is but as it once was—treating what was as if it still might be. To this end, he amplifies the list of embraces possible in casual meetings. But the more intimate they become the more they approach make-believe. Kokkoka does not say how or when the lover can employ them. Perhaps he did not even know. All he can say is, 'For two that have not yet declared their love, there are thus four embraces by which they can make known their mind; for those who have shared love-pleasure already, the ancients have recognized eight embraces by which desire may be quickened.' It is not current practice but the 'ancient past' which excites him with its ardent vistas.

In a similar way, he models certain passages on the Kama Sutra, injecting the drab present with an antique

thrill. He describes things by which a woman may be 'depraved'. Vatsyayana had treated these at length but, in the broad context of ancient India, these were part of life. It was because women could be 'depraved' by certain things that extra-marital sex was feasible. In contrast, Kokkoka says: 'Independence, living too long with parents, taking part in public festivals, over-free behaviour in masculine company, living abroad, having too many men-crazy friends, the collapse of her own love affair, having an old husband, jealousy and travel—these are the things by which a woman may be ruined.' None of these were exactly common in medieval India, but the very recital of them inflamed the fancy.

The fascination which the Kama Sutra exerted is even clearer in the passage describing preparations for love-making. Kalyan Mall, in the Ananga Ranga, could not resist incorporating Vatsyayana's idyllic description. And Kokkoka before him was also quite unable to exclude it. He describes the 'brightly lit room filled with flowers, the incense, the handsome clothes, the lively conversation, the delicate caresses'—all the arrangements of the 'man-about-town' when he welcomed an experienced mistress. But the setting which in ancient India was a reality is now a romantic idealization. The lover—save in the case of the rich few—was as impossible as his mistress.

The same air of fantasy characterizes Kokkoka's last chapter on relations with strange women. Just as in the Bible the New Testament cannot entirely supersede the Old but often refers back to it as the node of ancient wisdom, Kokkoka includes much that is now obsolete. He knows it no longer applies, but it was part of ancient practice. It can be viewed with nostalgia and excitement. He includes, therefore, the same time-honoured thesis that life and health are what really matter and that in certain circumstances 'passion love' has to be satisfied 'in order

to save life'. Yet his attitude is not so different from that of a modern critic. 'Strange love,' Sir Herbert Read has said, 'is romantic love, passionate love, and no one could be more conscious of its predestined liability to disaster than Shakespeare. But he does not on that account condemn it: to this passion, as to all other human emotions, he is the spectator ab extra, and his own desire is always to "bear free and patient thoughts." His own involvement in the passionate varieties of love may be deduced from the Sonnets, which in themselves, all other poetry set aside, would for ever justify our human indulgence in this fatal emotion. I have no desire to be obscure in an issue where the critics of romantic literature have been so explicit. If I understand their moralism rightly, they would consider Shakespeare's Sonnets (not to mention Tristan and all the poetry and music evoked by that name) well lost if the institution of marriage could be preserved in its purity. I think that Shakespeare would have felt that life, in the biological sense, is independent, if not defiant, of moral codes; and though he would surely have held that life, in any sense worth the living, is promoted by a progressive refinement of ideals and aspirations, he would have placed high, if not highest among the vitalizing and life enhancing forces, the poetic faculty. Whatever feeds its sacred flame is itself sacred and beyond our human conception of good and evil.'[1] Such a view is strangely parallel to the Indian and in incorporating certain passages—romantic, passionate and intense—Kokkoka may well have had in mind the vital life-enhancing role of poetry.

It is this same view which explains how love and sex were treated in Indian painting. From the fourteenth to nineteenth centuries—the period in which Indian miniature painting flourished—it was less the act of sex that

[1] Herbert Read, Phases of English Poetry (second ed., London, 1950), 56.

was illustrated in painting as the situations and problems of ideal lovers. Coital postures, as analysed in the Koka Shastra, were sometimes illustrated and such illustrations were often called the Koka Shastra itself. In Orissa, in particular, sets of postures were engraved with a stylus on palm-leaf. These were not taken from books although they were often termed 'Koka Shastras'. More recently in Orissa, versions known as 'brides' books' were painted at village level. All these books bore only a slight relation to the Koka Shastra proper. Indeed they sometimes departed quite radically from its postures, omitting some and adding others. Similar illustrated sets were current in Rajasthan—in the style of Jodhpur—and in the Punjab Hills at Kangra and Guler. When Lord Auckland visited Nahan in the state of Sirmur in the early nineteenth century, he found that the Raja had many such pictures with which he regaled the party as soon as the ladies had left. Sets of this sort were painted at court level. They were made for private delectation, for the intimacy of the bedroom, but despite their aphrodisiac qualities their vogue was small compared with other less amatory texts. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, sets of coital postures were produced in popular and provincial Mughal styles, the artist giving full vent to acrobatic fancy. (Two sets of this type are preserved in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.) It was also not uncommon for emperors, rajas and nobles to be shown copulating. Such portraits did not demean the subject. They rather testified to his virility. Sexual potency was deemed as necessary to a ruler as skill in hunting or war. It showed he was a man. The full extent of these portraits has still to be discovered but it is fairly safe to assume that just as western artists—certainly most modern artists—have drawn lovers in union, almost every Indian prince was at some time portrayed accomplishing the 'act of life'.

Picture of this kind treated sex directly and to that extent they paralleled the Koka Shastra. More often, however, a scene of union was inserted in sets of pictures which otherwise illustrated quite different aspects of romance. When the moment of climax came, the painter shrank as little from 'the right true end of love' as did the poet. The hero and heroine are reconciled, their joy is 'endless' and they express their delight in passionate union. Jayadeva's great poem on Radha and Krishna, the Gita Govinda, is a case in point. As the drama concludes, Radha and Krishna make love. The poem was lavishly illustrated at Basohli in the Punjab Hills in 1730 and again at Kangra in about 1780. Both versions contain over 120 pictures. More than 100 of these depict various phases of the romance. Barely ten show Radha and Krishna actually making love. When they do, the postures adopted are so normal that we must probably exclude too direct a connection with any book. The Koka Shastra, despite the influence on it of the Kama Sutra, was based on coital postures as Indians practised them. Indian poetry derived from this same source. When, therefore, Radha and Krishna are shown engaged in intercourse, it was as much on life as on the Koka Shastra that the artist drew.

Such Kangra pictures portrayed the sexual act with dignity and charm. The painters took sex and then with almost effortless ease invested the lovers' union with rhythmical poetry. Sex, however, was not their main concern. It was rather the lovers themselves—the varying phases of their romance. In Rajasthan, Central India and the Punjab Hills, artists constantly showed women in love—hurrying to a tryst, awaiting a lover, wilting at his absence. They were far removed from ordinary Indian women. In certain ways—delicacy, beauty, breeding—they might resemble the inmates of a ruler's palace. These

were sometimes the acme of aristocratic charm. It was their behaviour—their devotion to 'passion love'—which bore no relation to actual palace life. Ladies at a Rajput ruler's court led as cramped and huddled an existence as feudal ladies did in twelfth century France. It was only through prostitutes, dancing-girls, singers and concubines that a Rajput prince or noble experienced 'romance'. In such circumstances, the ladies of Indian painting charmed and delighted Rajput courts for one essential reason. They were creatures of poetry, not of real life.

From the fourth to tenth centuries, the period when Sanskrit love-poetry was at its height, the lovers of ancient India were treated as prototypes for lovers in poetry. Poets were expected to make their characters behave like these early lovers. Love could only be interpreted in poetry if it was free, romantic, adventurous. Indeed the Indian viewpoint exactly tallies with Sir Herbert Read's dictum: 'Only passionate love evokes poetry of the highest order.' Married love was admirable, but it was not poetic. Poetry involved the same attitude of daring abandonment as did extra-marital sex. As a result, books were written in which the moral code was suspended and the lover in all his intricate variety was discussed as if he were the true and only subject of poetry. The first text to do this was the Rasamanjari (the 'Posy of Pleasures') of Bhanudatta, a Sanskrit poet of the fifteenth century. Women were divided into those who were another's and those who were anyone's. By 'another's' was meant 'married' but liaisons with these were considered quite as valid for poetry, if not more so, as were any others. Poetic capability was the test, and in his book, Bhanudatta classified all types of lover and then showed by means of examples how passionate situations could best be interpreted. His analysis was taken still further in the Rasikapriya of Keshav Das, a Hindi poet of the sixteenth century.

In both these books, the actual mechanics or tactics of 'passion love' were brushed aside. It was assumed, on the contrary, that no such basic problems even existed. The nayika (the mistress), if married, would always give her husband the slip. She would welcome her lover unencumbered by relatives. She would keep a tryst. It was unnecessary for poetry to say how she did this. The essential point was that she did. In its bland suspension of all the actual conditions of love-making, some modern British writing is as unreal, as idealistic as that of medieval India.

It is to this tradition that the Koka Shastra properly belongs. Where it is not describing sex, it is hinting at love that has virtually no connection with life. Behind the Indian husband lurks the Indian lover but it is in art and poetry rather than the joint Hindu family that he comes to life. To give the greatest stimulus—to excite, enchant and soothe—poets and painters dealt with ideal love. And it was for this reason that the Koka Shastra included its obsolete descriptions. To write of the exceptional as if it were normal gave the medieval lover the stimulus he most required. It gratified repressed needs. It testified to romance as a continuing necessity even though an over-rigid society denied it. The less 'passion love' was practised, the more essential it became to assert its existence.

'In my study of Shakespeare's sexuality and bawdiness,' Eric Partridge has said, 'I have come to feel that, from his plays and poems, there emerges something basic, significant, supremely important and most illuminatingly revelatory. Although he never even hinted this, Shakespeare seems to have held and to have consistently acted upon the opinion that to write is in fact to create; and to make love is potentially to create. To write provides a means of releasing one's intellectual and spiritual energy, whereas to copulate is a means of releasing one's physical

energy. The desire to write is at least as urgent and powerful intellectually and spiritually, as the desire to make love (especially, to copulate) is on the physical plane. Composition is superior to lovemaking as a means of satisfying the need for self-expression (or "the creative urge"). It is almost equal to it as an anodyne to that loneliness with which all of us, but especially the literary and artistic and musical creators, are beset, and as a comfort and a solace. Moreover to write of sex and love serves both to satisfy—and perhaps to justify—the intellectual and spiritual need to create and homopathetically to assuage one's physical desires by that modified form of sublimation which consists in a not ignoble substitution.'

By treating love and sex with poetic insight, the Koka Shastra gave medieval India exactly this—'a not ignoble substitution'.

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

I

GENERAL

THE Sanskrit textbooks on the art of love form a continuous sequence from remote antiquity to the sixteenth century A.D. or later, and on to the present time in vernacular versions and imitations. Most great cultures, as well as many tribal societies, have had a literature of this kind—our own Judaeo-Christian tradition is almost unique in lacking one—and have entrusted its production to poets. Persian, Chinese and Arabic erotologies are nearly as extensive as Sanskrit, but the influence of the Indian love-textbooks in their culture is peculiar, because of the place which sexual imagery occupies in Hindu religious thought. For over 1,000 years these textbooks have influenced not only sexual behaviour, but art and literature throughout Hindu India—and not only through literate people, for they have been embodied in 'visual aids'; sculpture, painting, palm-leaf books, and erotic designs and posture-sheets, at all levels from the finest productions of religious art to pedlars' wares and bazaar ornaments.

The corresponding fear and rejection of sexuality, which is equally fundamental in our own religious tradition, has forced successive generations in Europe to turn to the Greek and Roman Classics, or to books which describe normal sexual activities under cover of catalogues of sins or of diseases, to fulfil the same essential needs. Almost the first full-length picture of a different and less sexually anxious tradition was given to nineteenth-cen-

tury Englishmen by Burton's translation of the Arabian Nights, and it is not surprising that they owe their first contact with Sanskrit erotology to the same translator, through his versions of the Kāma Sūtra and the Ananga Ranga. Neither of these, unfortunately, is up to the standard of Burton's Arabic studies, but they served at least to teach us the name of the great original source of Indian erotica, the Kāma Sūtra of Vātsyāyana.

The Kāma Sūtra is one of the world's great traditional prose books. Its attributive author, like Homer and Hippocrates, is a name and no more—the text as we now have it quotes his opinions in the third person, along with those of Bābhravya, Gonikāputra, and others—but throughout Indian erotic literature he is treated as the primary Master, much as medieval medical literature revered Galen and Aristotle. All the later works are verse renderings, subsequent condensations and expansions, or comments on the Kāma Sūtra, with the gradual introduction first of astrological and later of Tāntric ideas.

The scientific attitude tends to look for quality to the most recent source—Indian scholarship, like medieval European, looks to the most ancient. In this case it is justified, for the Kāma Sūtra is vastly superior to its successors. Its real history is unknown—like most Vedic literature it purports to be a condensation by scholars of an older and lost work composed or commissioned by a God. Śiva, when he fell in love with his own female emanation, thereby discovering sexuality, celebrated the pleasures of carnal copulation in 10,000, or, some say, 100,000 books. According to one version, these were reduced by his servant Nandin to 1,000, but successively abbreviated by later sages: according to another, Dattaka, who had the misfortune to pollute a rite of Śiva, was turned into a woman, and later regaining his proper form found himself equally conversant with the sexual habits

of both sexes, which, doing honour to Śiva, he proceeded to set down in numerous treatises. The tradition begins to resemble history at the point where one Bābhravya Pāñcāla became editor-in-chief of a sexual encyclopaedia. We are told that he entrusted the general introduction to Cārāyana, the section upon coition to Suvarnanābha, that on the courting of virgins to Ghotakamukha, that on the duties of wives to Gonardīya, that on seduction to Gonikāputra, that on whores to Dattaka, and that on materia medica to Kucumāra. It was this encyclopaedia which, says tradition, Vātsyāyana, called Mallanāga, reduced to portable compass to become the Kāma Sūtra.

The scope of Vātsyāyana's book is that of the hypothetical encyclopaedia and falls into the same sections. It has been carefully rendered in German and Latin by Schmidt, and less well into English by others, chiefly in India. The Master of Love is a dry, realistic and liberal-minded writer of signal good sense, with a Thurberesque eye for human conduct which is never quite satirical, but always close to satire simply by virtue of its frankness: Rajas dare not do ill, for being like the sun their movements are observed by all—if therefore they must be so rash as to undertake seduction, they should do it in their own palaces, not venture into other men's houses where they risk being killed incognito by some base person. The methods normally adopted by real, as against ideal, Rajas are then described. They may entice the lady to visit a friend in their harem—they may hire informers to convict her husband of treason and impound her as a hostage—and so on.

This pithy text is accompanied everywhere by a Dr Watson, in the form of a thirteenth-century commentator of skull-splitting pedantry, Yaśodhara, whose commentary is called Jayamangalā: most of the English renderings transfer large glosses from this commentary bodily

into the text. Sometimes Yaśodhara is useful—the story of Dattaka's change of sex, for instance, comes from his commentary, together with the more probable version that this Dattaka was the adoptive son of a Brahmin, who made up his mind to find out all there was to be known about whores, and became so well informed that the profession itself sent its finest exponent, Vīrasenā, to invite him to write them an official textbook. Aufrecht says of Yaśodhara, 'he seems to be deficient in knowledge both of the Old Sanskrit in which Vātsyāyana wrote, and of the subject he is trying to handle'. He is informative, however, and seems to have realized that his master's work would one day be read by men unfamiliar with Hindu customary usage and mythology.

The date of the Kāma Sūtra is variously given from about 300 B.C. on—there is little here to go upon except the style and language, and the fact that Kālidāsa evidently knows and quotes the work. Pisani (1954) puts it closer to A.D. 400. One would love to speculate that Ovid knew it—not only from his Ars Amatoria, but from the striking likeness of his Heroides to the nāyikās of Indian typology: did he encounter it when he bought Corinna her parrot, or was the parrot itself a learned bird like that of the Seventy Discourses? The successors of the Kāma Sūtra are of equally uncertain date. The chief of these are

(1) The Ratirahasya or Secrets of Rati (wife of the Love-God: her name means dalliance or pleasure) known popularly as the Koka Shastra, and referred by Pisani to the twelfth, and by Lienhard to the twelfth or possibly the eleventh century.

(2) The Pañcasāyaka (Five Arrows) of Jyotirīśvara Kaviśekhara (probably late thirteenth or early fourteenth century).

(3) The Smaradīpikā (Light of Love), à blunderbuss name for a number of different works, the earliest being probably fourteenth century, which have undergone a partial interchange of material. These poems represent a definite tradition of erotics distinct from that of the Kāma Sūtra, particularly in the names given to the various bandhas, or coital poses.

Connected with these works are:

(4) The very short Ratimañjarī of Jayadeva (The Posy of Love), in elegant verse, corresponding in places word-for-word with some versions of the Smaradīpikā, and probably of the fifteenth century.

(5) The Kandarpacūdāmanī (Tiara of the Love-God) by Vīrabhadradeva, an almost word-for-word transposition of the Kāma Sūtra from prose into ārya verses, date uncertain.

(6) The Dināläpanikā Śukasaptati, or Seventy Discourses of the Parrot, in one version of which the learned bird, employed by a king to educate his son tape-recorder-fashion, dilates on sexual physiology, while the young prince himself delivers a discourse—obtained, presumably, from the parrot—on erotics. In the course of this he gives us the most complete extant list of 'advanced' coital postures, corresponding to the exhibition figures of the tango and the quickstep. This in turn appears to come from another erotic work,

(7) The Srngāradīpikā (Lamp of Affection) of Harihara —which lists the same names, but without the details.

(8) The Ananga Ranga (Stage of the Love-God) of Kalyānamalla, is one of the more celebrated texts because of the Burton-Arbuthnot translation, and next in popularity, in India, to the Ratirahasya and Kāma Sūtra. Schmidt tries to make it a seventeenth-century work, but it is almost certainly a good deal earlier than this—probably mid-sixteenth at the latest.

These are the major texts. Minor and derivative works include the Nagaraśarvasva (Complete Playboy) of Padmaśri, the Kāmaprabodha of Vyāsya Janardana, the Ratiratnapradīpikā (Jewel Lamp of Rati) by Mahārāja Devarāja, and the Ratiśastraratnavalī by Nāgārjuna Siddha.

Not that this list exhausts Indian erotic textbooks—with a few additions it covers only those transliterated or translated by Richard Schmidt in his Beiträge zur Indischen Erotik, the work which stands in the same relation to this book of mine as Vātsyāyana does to his successors, and from whom I draw most of my material. There are dozens more similar poems and treatises which Schmidt can cite only in title, and which have never been translated.

Although the texts cannot be placed in any very reliable chronology, they fall readily into literary pedigrees by content—the Kandarpacūdāmanī derives wholly from Vāṭsyāyana: the Pañcasāyaka and Ananga Ranga form another unit, with the Ratirahasya not far off: the Smaradīpikā and the Ratimañjarī form a third. Between the first and second of these groups, much astrology and Tāntric magic has been introduced which was absent from Vātsyāyana, while the third seems independent, describing different postures of intercourse (bandhas) and giving the rest different names.

The late Sanskrit palm-leaf books in Oriya character, produced chiefly round Puri, and now largely replaced by erotic playing cards, seem to represent a quite different tradition—one I have examined, probably of nineteenth century origin, gives sixty bandhas which follow none of the classical texts, either in order, or in character: most are complicated sedentary positions with the man in an odd half-kneeling attitude, and with much leg-crossing; they are drawn in 'exploded' form and supported in the Persian manner by drum-shaped cushions, while the sthīta

(standing) positions, the test of peculiarly Indian erotology, number only three and are drawn without much practical conviction. I think that the origins of these texts are probably Moslem rather than śastric. The same applies to the bandhas shown in a recently published old Gujarati version of the Vasanta Vilāsa (Brown, W. N., 1962). In fact, I have yet to see an Indian posture-book which exactly corresponds with literary erotology.

One may guess at what point the first revision and revival of the master-work is likely to have occurred, and what evoked the wave of poetic imitations of the classic original; some time about the end of the first millennium A.D. the city civilizations of East and Central India underwent an explosive sexual renaissance. The natural history of this was less like that of our European renaissance than of the ascetic and evangelical 'revivals' of the West, but in the opposite psychological direction. Certainly it resembled the Western Renaissance in its effect on art. In the court society of the local rajas, such as the Kings of Candella, it gave rise to a wave of temple-building which still represents the high point of Indian architecture. Among its surviving religious monuments are the Kaula-inspired temples of Khajurāho, where ecstatic lovers have displaced the major gods from the places of honour in iconography,[1] and the Sun Temple at Konarak with its innumerable figures of love making maidens—heavenly apsarases, temple prostitutes (veśya-kumārī), or simply human celebrants of sexuality; nobody seems to know for certain which.[2]

[1] For an account of the Kaula-Kāpālika 'revival' in Candella see Goetz, H. (1958), Chandra, P. (1955—6), Zannas, E. and Auboyer, J. (1960), van Gulik, R. (1961) (History and influence of Chinese sexual mysticism on Tantric practice).

[2] See Krishna Deva (1959). The tradition of erotic temple sculpture is still a living one in Nepal, where coital groups are the traditional ornament for carved gable-brackets. Within India they are also commonly found on the processional chariots of gods, of which the Konarak temple with its ornate wheels is a giant replica.

The liturgical implications of the Khajurāho figures is plain enough—in the ecstasy of coition, man becomes god-like;[1] while the Konarak friezes celebrate release-through-art and release-through-woman as a single gesture of aesthesis, the creation of elaborate sexual sensation as a positive work of art (they are certainly not, pace modern Hindu interpreters, there to seduce or warn the sinner). The secular effects of this same wave of sexual energy appear in the nāyakas and nāyikās, heroes and heroines, of the Indian romance-tradition. Their real existence was probably brief enough, but they have lived on as inexhaustibly as Theocritus' shepherds and shepherdesses and the knights of the chivalric period, in literature and convention, and serve as models for Indian lovers even today. Over this short period of time, the Indian tradition seems to have received a vast charge of psychological energy, on which its art, literature and religion have been running ever since—a charge which differed from that imparted by our renaissance, in that it lay wholly in the unconscious mind.

In part it seems to have represented the recovery by Hinduism of its self-confidence and joie de vivre, after the puritan pessimism of the Buddhist tradition and the diabolism of the early Śāktas, who were perhaps the introducers of mystical erotism into Indian art and practice, but who mixed it with 'such revolting practices as wearing skulls, drinking, howling, sacrificing human beings, eating food in human skulls, and keeping alight sacrificial fires with the brains and lungs of men' (Panigrahi, 1961). We can see the development of this gain of confidence in the temple art of Bhuvaneshwar. Erotic themes appear

[1] maithunena mahāyogi mama tūlyo na samśayah: this is not the orthodox interpretation of the text (Pandit, 1957)—but the left-hand Tāntrist still repeats, at each sacrament of the rahasya pūjā, including ritual coitus, Śivo'ham: I am Śiva.

first on Śākta and Paśupata shrines, but Eros and the graceful nāyikās of the Rājarānī temple come to replace Thanatos and the skullbearing Kāpālika figures inside the Vaital temple; the dancing Cāmundas, terrific to behold, give way gradually to the Goddess in her demon-slaying capacity (Māhisāsuramardinī), and finally in her wholly pacific manifestation. Hand in hand with this the ritual erotism, as we see it depicted, has more to do with love and pleasure and less with magic and ascetic practice—instead of esoteric and ferocious it becomes joyous and popular.

'Our' renaissance generated both emotional and intellectual discovery—Romanticism fuses them—and eventually science. The Indian Renaissance, after exploding like a nova, seems to have been driven into the dark again—partly by the intensity of its own sexual emphasis. The gate of the pre-Oedipal paradise banged once more—but the energy behind much Indian thinking had already been stored, and one has the impression that since that time almost the whole spiritual and emotional drive of the culture has been diverted to regaining the 'oceanic' sensations of infancy by some other means. Hindu sexualism and anti-sexualism, the features of Indian art, the great erotic temples, Tāntric sexual magic, and the erotic poems, all seem to be concrete manifestations of this original energy which comes to the surface again in the cult of the Loves of Krishna: at the same time, they continue a pre-existing tradition and are its logical sequel, a renewal not an innovation.

It is with the secular, not the religious, side of this sexual Golden Age that the erotic textbooks are concerned—their readers were men-about-town who decorated their pleasure-pavilions with the lay equivalents of the Temple figures. Their matter predates Tāntric sexual yoga, for they contain no reference to its chief doctrine,

the 'absorption' of energy from woman while avoiding ejaculation. The courtly background which he describes gives us some idea of the people for whom Vātsyāyana wrote. The Kāma Sūtra says:

'When a man has completed his education and acquired wealth by gifts, war-prizes, trade or wages' (i.e. the means suitable to each caste, Brahmin, Ksattriya, etc.), 'he should set up as a man of fashion. He will live in a city, a capital city, a district centre or a country-town, or wherever there are men of quality, according to the needs of his occupation. Near to a source of water, he will build a house with two bedrooms and a place for the transaction of business, set in a garden. In the outer room, he will install a soft bed with pillows and white sheets, and beside it a couch' (one for sleeping, explains Yaśodhara, the other for coition). . . . 'In this room will be found salves and garlands left from the previous night, a bowl of cooked rice, and a case of perfume, citron-rind and betel. At the bed-foot, a spittoon: hanging on a peg, a lute: a drawing board and ink-box, a book: wreaths of yellow amaranth; close by a carpet with a cushion for reclining: a dice-board and a chessboard. Outside the dwellinghouse, he will furnish cages of tame birds, and workshops for spinning and carpentry: in the orchard a well-upholstered swing, and a flower-strewn, suitably-rounded bank. Such is the order of the house.

'Rising each morning he will attend to the calls of nature, clean his teeth, slightly perfume himself, burn scented incense and put on a garland, break his fast on a handful of cooked rice, examine his face in the glass, take pastilles and betel (or apply rouge and betel to colour his cheeks and his teeth) and so to business. He will bathe daily, anoint every other day, use sepia every third day, shave every four days, and depilate every five or ten. . . . He should eat twice daily, in the morning and the

afternoon . . . after luncheon he will attend to such matters as teaching parrots and mynahs to talk, quail-fights, cockfights, ramfights: various aesthetic games: receiving and ordering his story-teller, his pimp, and his buffoon: midday siesta: in the afternoon, attend to his toilet, then to play—in the evening, music. After this he will wait for ladies who come to him on errands of love, and for friends, in his bedroom, which will be prepared and scented with incense. (If no ladies come) he will send a go-between, or go himself, to fetch them. . . . If the toilet of the ladies who visit him has suffered from rain and ill-weather he will restore it with his own hand, or call on one of his friends to do so. This is the prescribed order for day and for night.'

His religious and cultural duties follow. The rich Indian was certainly not—in his own estimate—idle. To be a nāyaka one must be rich. Failing means, however, one can always lecture on the Arts and so attain the position of chair-presser (pithamarda—professional conversationalist and storyteller, an Indian Isaiah Berlin, if the comparison may be forgiven) and can by this means achieve the company of the Quality and of the hetairas, who are the first ladies of the land, in whose houses all cultural activities take place and all polite society meets.

This, then, is the nāyaka for whom Vātsyāyana wrote. He is a remarkably contemporary figure, lacking only an expense account and a heated swimming pool to make him modern. At the same time, the chief of his pleasures, for which all the others were a preparation, can fortunately still be enjoyed without cost, for more of us than ever before have privacy, plumbing, contraceptive facilities and physical hygiene which no third century Indian gentleman could purchase regardless of wealth—we may

regret that we lack his proficiency in making the most of them, but, according to Vātsyāyana, we need only apply ourselves to learn.

* * *

Some previous translators of Indian erotica, usually the least reputable, have made great play with the purity of their devotion to Sanskrit grammar and their innocence of any intention to provide sexual information for the unscholarly. This pretence seems hardly worth maintaining: for the overwhelming majority of readers, scholarly or otherwise, the chief interest of these works is in the information they give about sexual behaviour in an unfamiliar culture, coupled possibly with a conscious or unconscious hope that the knowledge may give them insight into their own. Neither of these aims requires any apology. At the same time there is so much of literary and psychological interest in Indian erotology that it seems well worth producing the text with a substantial amount of learned comment—readers who only wish to get on with the technicalities of the bandhas can omit this at their discretion. In the same way, great stress has sometimes been laid on the unfamiliarity, oddity and unpracticability of the content. This is pure Englishmanship. Some of it is indeed unique to the Indian cast of mind, but leaving aside the mannerisms of the tradition—its mania for classification and its belief that there is a technique for everything, definable by scholarship rather than trial—our sense of the oddity of the prescriptions is very largely the result of living in a society which restricts our observation of sexual behaviour. One can see as good examples of nakhacchedya (erotic scratch-marks, the stock Indian love-token) in the London Underground as on any medieval Indian lady.

There is an English version of the Ananga Ranga, which one can now buy as a paperback, and which, re-translated into French by Lamairesse, has long served to introduce it to a great many English readers. The translators are F. F. Arbuthnot and Sir Richard Burton. If Burton—of the Arabian Nights—really had much to do with the actual translating—as against the publishing—of this rendering, his knowledge of Sanskrit, and, more surprisingly, in view of his other works, his knowledge of Indian erotic techniques, fall substantially short of his reputation for both; for, as Schmidt grimly points out, the text is full of blunders, and a good deal of it, particularly in the account of the bandhas, or postures, is a fabrication of the translators. I suspect they were unfortunate in the pandits they consulted. Some of the renderings of Sanskrit names raise the suspicion that this version was taken not from the Sanskrit original, but from an inferior vernacular paraphrase. This may explain some of these shortcomings: the style, however, is often unmistakably Burton's. Arbuthnot appears to have been the principal translator, and Burton probably 'worked up' his version. The introduction contains one story which is vintage Burton, and serves to introduce the poem I have chosen to render here—the Ratirahasya of Kokkoka:

'A woman who was burning with love and could find none to satisfy her inordinate desires, threw off her clothes and swore she would wander the world naked until she met with her match. In this condition she entered the levee-hall of the Raja upon whom Koka Pandit was attending, looked insolently at the crowd of courtiers around her and declared that there was not a man in the room. The king and his company were sore abashed, but the Sage, joining his hands, applied with due humility for royal permission to tame the shrew. He then led her

home and worked so persuasively that well-nigh fainting from fatigue and from repeated orgasms she cried for quarter. Thereupon the virile Pandit inserted gold pins into her arms and legs, and, leading her before his Raja, made her confess her defeat and solemnly veil herself in his presence. The Raja was, as might be expected, anxious to learn how the victory had been won, and commanded Koka Pandit to tell his tale, and to add much useful knowledge on the subject of coition. In popular pictures the Sage appears sitting before and lecturing the Raja, who duly throned and shaded by the Chatri or royal canopy, with his harem fanning him and forming tail, lends an attentive ear to the words of wisdom.'

Koka Pandit, it appears, is to be identified with Kokkoka, author of the Ratirahasya. From him, it is popularly known as the Koka Śastra, Koka's Book—the name, however, has become generic for the class of literature, and is sometimes applied equally to the Ananga Ranga. From Burnell's catalogue of MSS, Schmidt quotes, 'This shameless book is a great favourite in South India, and there are several vernacular versions of it. The one in Tamil has been printed (in spite of the police). There were formerly in the Tanjore Palace a large number of pictures to illustrate this and similar books, but they have nearly all been destroyed.' Luckily for the intelligibility of some of the bandhas (postures), and in spite of the newly-acquired prudery which banned 'Lady Chatterley' in India, they persist in folk-art and can be purchased as palm-leaf books or as printed sheets for the instruction, in a visual form, of rajas and plebeians alike.

The surreptitiously-printed Tamil version is no doubt the Kokkokam, attributed to Ativira Rama Pandian, King of Madura in the sixteenth century, who, like Donne, turned from erotic to religious poetry at the end of his

life, and wrote some celebrated psalms. This is a spirited production—unlike many of the classic treatises, which one can readily credit to have been written, as they claim, by disinterested ascetics, the Kokkokam is clearly the fruit of experience, and if anything better verse and sense than the original. It has been reasonably well done into English, together with much of the Ratirahasya itself, by Professor T. N. Ray (1960)—and seems as popular in paper jackets as it ever was on palm leaves.

The Ratirahasya is well-situated in its tradition to act as a specimen of its kind. Although it is in all respects inferior to the Kāma Sūtra it more nearly represents the fashion in Hindu erotic science and the influences still at work in Indian sexual folklore, for it covers both the early and the later traditions—that of Vātsyāyana; the astrological system of physical types and lunar calendars for courtship (Candrakalas); and the influence of Tāntrism, reflected in spells, japas (sound of magical power to be muttered on appropriate occasions) and far-fetched pseudo-medical recipes like that which requires 'both wings of a bee which has alighted on a petal blown from a funeral wreath'. In a sense the dilution of Vātsyāyana's astute scholarship with nonsense is depressing, but in reality it represents a process which we see in the writings of European alchemists. Like Aristotle, Vatsyāyana had taken his subject as far as it could reasonably be taken by scholarship and intelligence without ad hoc investigation. The magicians 'investigated' without the discipline of science, invented some results and obtained others: they recognized the need for more empirical knowledge but had no reliable means of obtaining it. The later Indian erotic authors are wallowing in the gap between traditional scholarship and science. Of their works, the Kandarpacūdāmanī repeats in verse what the Kāma Sūtra says in prose, with more or less additions and

omissions, the Ananga Ranga has already been translated, and the other poems can most conveniently be dealt with by parallel quotation. I have settled in this version for a translation of a typical example of the whole series, plus a dīpikā or series of glosses, in the Indian manner, in the form of extended footnotes, and excerpts from the others —apart from the Ratimañjarī, which is short enough to quote in full (this, so far as I know, is the first time it has been rendered in English).

* * *

Our general discussion can accordingly be focused on the Ratirahasya.

In view of the mixed character of its contents modern readers will be bound to ask how much of the practical advice given in Kokkoka's poem—magic noises, concoctions and astrology apart—is to be taken seriously. The answer seems to be that much of it is uncommonly sound. There is not much risk of mistake: only believers in the Wisdom of the East who are quite beyond argument will try to follow the perambulations of the Love-God from the big toe upward according to the Moon's phases (though others who had not previously noticed it may come to recognize that in some women sexual response is cyclical in both time and site). On the other hand, a man who has married a very young wife could do worse, mutatis mutandis, than follow Kokkoka's recipe for handling her; most of the 'outer' and 'inner' embraces, and such things as 'love cries', adult people will usually have discovered for themselves—they may still be interested to see them so ably classified, however, for in our culture these common human experiences have only just come to be verbalized at all without embarrassment.

The Indian erotic writings are based originally on

astute observation—long transmitted, however, and fossilized by authority. In this they resemble the post-Aristotelian biology and psychology of the Middle Ages, without its layer of theological dogma. They are not science in the modern sense—they have not grown from their compiler's own use of his eyes and ears, and they contain much evident nonsense. Even compared with Al-Nafzawi's Arabic, they owe little to personal observation. To get a true idea of their merit we need to compare them with the truly stupendous body of nonsense about sexual behaviour which was being written in Europe by medical and medico-religious experts far into the Renaissance and on into the nineteenth century, and which has set the key for European medico-hygienic literature until the present day. The classic fount and monument of such nonsense is Sinibaldi's Geneianthropeia, which is the direct ancestor of a long succession of admonitory works, and the source of almost all the fallacies about sexual behaviour which make up popular and medical folklore today. Even with Tāntrism and astrology thrown in, the Ratirahasya contains materially less really foolish comment about human sexuality than many serious English medical and religious books of, say, 1900, and what nonsense it contains is far less mischievous. For these reasons we need have very little scruple about leaving Kokkoka where the children might read him. If they would do better with a work of science, at least they will not be taught that sexual behaviour is hostile, dangerous, and fraught with guilt, or that it will produce blindness, insanity and pimples. Kokkoka, indeed, unashamedly catalogues pleasures, where the Christian tradition has catalogued sins, threatening us, successively, as times have changed, with spiritual guilt, physical mischief, or emotional 'immaturity' to rationalize its prohibitions: the real value to us of Indian and other exotic works on sexual

behaviour is in the contrast of attitude which they provide with this tradition—they may help us to escape from it, even when they have their facts wrong. There are, indeed, Buddhist prescriptive lists of sins almost as hilarious as those of Sánchez, but no other culture has maintained its sexual anxiety at so high a level as Christendom for so long. Kokkoka will certainly do us no harm, and married people who wish to do so may just as well experiment with his techniques as with yoga, Indian dancing, or curry—they may easily learn something, if only an attitude of mind.

The Indian emphasis on bodily types and physical proportion in sexual adjustment seems overdone to us—we usually assume in counselling that these are not factors which contribute much to frigidity, and attribute its commonness in our culture to upbringing. This psychological emphasis is probably just—at the same time there has been so little serious research into the mechanics of coition that it is not really possible to contradict the Indian view.

We might be more inclined, however, to agree with the Plain Girl of the Su-nü-miao-lun: '"Men differ as much by nature in their genitals as in their face . . . some small men have large members, and some tall men have short: some lean and asthenic men have robust members, some big and robust men have small and flabby members . . . all that really matters is that the organ should not be such as to hinder copulation."

'The Emperor asked: "Wherein lies the difference between high, middle and low-placed vulvae?"

'The Plain Girl replied: "The virtue of a queynt lies not in position but in use; all three, high, low and middle, have desirable qualities provided only that you know how to make use of them. The woman with the middle-placed queynt is suitable for all four seasons and every kind of posture, for indeed the golden mean is always best. The woman with the high forward-set queynt is best

on a cold winter night, for she should be taken under the painted bed-curtains and you lie on top of her. The woman with the low-set queynt is best in the hot days of summer, for you can take her from behind, while you sit on a stone bench in the bamboo shade, making her kneel before you. This is what is called making the most of your woman's anatomy."'

One type of disproportion—in relative speed of reaching orgasm—is a much more frequent cause of maladjustment. There is not much ground for thinking that a choice of wife according to the Indian typologies, rather than by a direct experiment, would make for any better agreement here, though the careful preliminaries to intercourse emphasized by Kokkoka might. Dickinson (1933) attempted to relate coital satisfaction to anatomy, but his work has had no successors. However, most counsellors find that there is a proportion of unresponsive women for whose frigidity there is no immediately obvious cause, either physical or psychological: possibly some of them are 'mismatches' in Kokkoka's sense—it is among these cases that a change of technique—or of husband—sometimes produces remarkable results.

The proliferation of postures (bandhas) is characteristic not of Indian of or Oriental erotic literature, but of erotic literature generally: it represents a preoccupation of all sexually articulate cultures very like the elaboration of dance figures. The variety of these is such that, as Schmidt and Burton both pointed out, they can be understood only with the aid of diagrams: Indian texts were not illustrated to make them sexually exciting, only comprehensible. We would probably now interpret this intense human interest in coital posture psychoanalytically, and no doubt the emotion it arouses has unconscious origins; but at the same time there is a large body of human experience in favour of the practical signifi-

cance of such experiments: it is an amusing comment on our sexual performance as a culture that this should need saying. 'There are many males and some females,' wrote Professor Kinsey, 'who are psychologically stimulated by considering the possibilities of the positions which two human bodies can assume in coitus. From the time of the most ancient Sanskrit literature . . .there have been numerous attempts to calculate the mathematic possibilities of the combinations and re-combinations. . . . Descriptions of a score, or of several score, or even of a couple of hundred positions have been seriously undertaken in various literatures. In view of the lack of evidence that any of these positions have any particular mechanical advantage in producing orgasm in either the female or the male, they must be significant primarily because they serve as psychological stimulants.'

With the first half of this proposition, nobody would quarrel. Elliott Paul had a friend whose interest in permutation theory was so stimulated on this topic by a pornographic album that he became a mathematician (this is, in fact, a perfectly sober observation of one of the unconscious motivations behind the symbolism of numbers) while the more determined posture-collectors such as Weckerle, who describes 530,[1] might well be reckoned compulsive. The latter part of Kinsey's remarks, however, is a little like the equally correct view that there are only two wines, red and white, and only two tunes, loud and soft. Apart from the question of shades of sensation, clinical if not personal experience hardly supports the view that all postures are 'equally effective mechanically' for a given couple, though this may well be so statistically for the public as a whole. Whether the Indian attempt to link these preferences with body build and configuration is correct or not, both modern and ancient

[1] L. van der Weck-Erlen (J. Weckerle, pseud.) (1907).

counselling experience agree that some women are emphatically more easily brought to orgasm in some positions than in others.

'It is recounted on this matter,' says Al-Nafzawi, 'that a man had a wife of incomparable beauty, full of accomplishments and qualities, whom he was accustomed to enjoy in the ordinary manner, to the exclusion of all other. This woman, however, never experienced any of the pleasures which should result from the exercise, and was invariably of extremely ill temper. The man complaining to an old woman, she told him, "Proceed to the other manners of carnal copulation, and continue searching until you find one which contents her—from then on, stick to that manner, and her devotion to you will be boundless." The man, thus admonished, made proof amain of all the manners known to Science until, coming to that known as Dok el-Arz, he beheld his wife in transports of alarming intensity, experienced the most satisfactory internal motions therewith, and heard her say through lips bitten with ecstasy "Now you have hit on the real way to make love!"'

How far preferences like these are due to anatomy and how far to psychosymbolism, is still an open question—the most likely answer is that, like our choice of sitting posture or of gait, they reflect both.

The doubts expressed whether the bandhas, or coital postures, described in Indian books were ever really practised, or are even anatomically feasible, are equally naïve. Many, especially in the later textbooks, are certainly far more difficult than those in other erotic literatures, but this seems to be a direct result of the widespread use of hatha yoga gymnastics: the ability to sit, let alone lie, in padmāsana, the stock coital posture for a padminī, or 'lotus lady', takes Europeans, unused to sitting on the floor, some months to acquire. The coital

postures favoured in different cultures have their own character—partly dictated by customs in furniture: thus the Arabic literature specializes in semi-lateral positions and the Chinese in postures where penile and vaginal axes diverge. As to the multiplicity of only slightly-differing postures, it has to be remembered that they are intended to be used not as single attitudes for a single act, but as sequences, like dance steps, with several changes during one union, in the course of which the woman should experience several orgasms to the man's one; each figure must accordingly lead into the next and minor differences affect the sequence—like the difference between an impetus turn and a natural spin in the quickstep.

Sometimes this kind of sexual choreography has an even closer symbolic affinity with dancing—thus, by adopting successively the 'fish', 'tortoise', 'wheel' and 'sea-shell' position (mātsya, kaurma, cakra, śankhabandha) one identifies oneself with the first four avatars of Vishnu: sceptics over such religious doubles entendres underrate the Indian love of living at more than one level, which exceeds even that of the present-day avant-garde dramatist. In the Indian tradition, indeed, this analogy with the dance is not merely arbitrary, for there are close affinities between the erotic texts and the Bhārata, Nātya, Śāstra, chapter XXIV of which actually deals with vaiśika upacāra, the practice of harlotry, as part of the technique of dance. Not only did the virtuosi of one art practice the other, but judging from sculptural representations it was in the spirit of a dance that ritual, and possibly also secular, coition was undertaken. This presupposes a degree of control which some males in our culture find quite incredible, but which is generally assumed in societies which have elaborated sexual sensation, and which seems to be largely the result of Panurge's sovereign remedy for concupiscence, namely frequent

exercise, plus a form of cultural desensitization: no Indian reader experienced much more anticipatory excitement from reading the Ratirahasya, even in a richly illustrated edition, than we would obtain from a book on ballroom dancing. In India, and still more in China, ejaculation was sometimes avoided altogether, particularly by mystics and philosophers, from a medico-magical preoccupation with the need of the male to absorb the sexual virtue of the female without allowing her to rob him of his own, embodied in the semen. Sākyamuni, who achieved buddha-hood by practising Tāntric meditation in his harem, held that 'Englightenment resides in the sexual parts of Woman'. (Buḍdhatvam yosityonisamāsritam). Chinese sages in particular laid down detailed programmes for the assimilation of this energising principle from a succession of women,[1] with the warning that what had been gathered with much labour would be squandered in a single ejaculate; if emission took place, the adept became subject again to the Wheel of Existence (Eliade, 1958). The superstition that semen is the quintessence of Man and that its loss means steady decline is still found in English books on personal hygiene, in defiance of the known vigour of stud animals. The object of the Śākta rites which inspired the Khajurāho temples, and which are depicted in the sculptures, was to secure enlightenment and longevity —several of the Candella Kings who probably took part in these performances did in fact live to great ages (Zannas and Auboyer, 1960). The Rājatarangini of Kalhana describes how King Harsa of Kashmir (C. A.D. 1090) accepted a gift of slave-girls initiated into the Kaula sexual techniques and applied himself to enjoy them 'because he wanted to live long'. Gerocomy (the averting of age in man by commerce with young women) was a

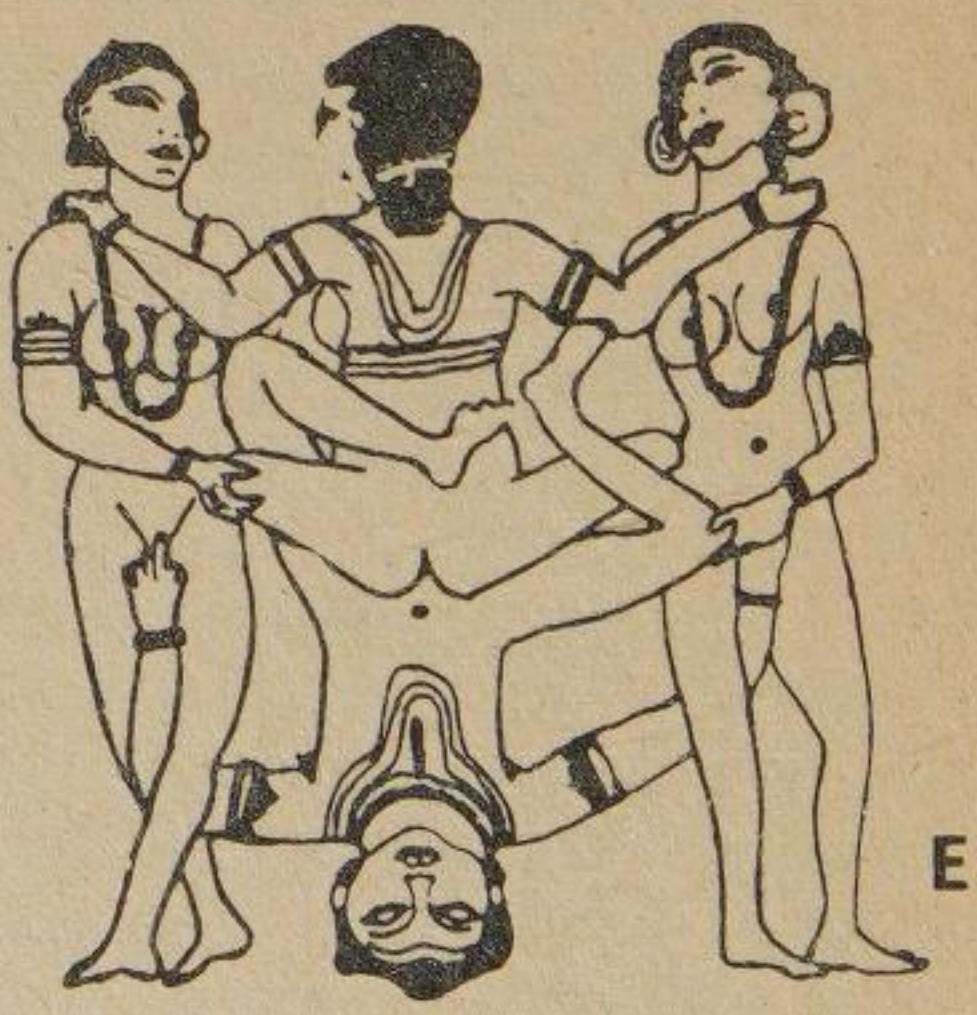
1 Maspero, H. (1937), van Gulik, R. (1961).

A

B

C

D


E

CITRARATA

A, G: unnamed sthīta-yugmapada-bandha—A, Konarak; G, Khajurāho
B: māyūrabandha: Konarak
C: vrksādirūdhālingana: Khajurāho
D: jānūkuparabandha: Khajurāho
E: unnamed samghātakabandha; centrepiece of frieze, Kandāriya temple, Khajurāho. In a similar group on the Visvanatha temple all four figures are female.

F

G

H

I

J

F: avalambitabandha (kīrtībandha) and nakhaccḥedya—Khajurāho.
Note the use of fingernails.
H: tripādabandha (?), keśágrahana—Khajurāho.
I: (vyānata) kulišabandha—'wheelbarrow' position.
J: kaurmabandha—supine (uttana) form. Both from the 'ritual' frieze, Laksmana temple, Khajurāho. Figures restored in drawing.

general belief in secular as well as religiomagical practice. Probably one factor in the popularity of complicated postures was the growth of a tradition of 'picture positions', dictated by the sculptural need in Temple art to depict the lovers standing—where the artists of Khajurāho require a lying-down position, for ritual or decorative reasons, to fill a square panel normally occupied by a God, they set it on end, supported by maidens, with one partner head-downwards.[1]

The influence of yoga is uniquely Indian, and also uniquely interesting in the discussion of symbolism versus physiology in the postures. Its widespread use as a gymnastic system (ghatastha yoga) accounts for the ability of Indians, modern as well as ancient, and of both sexes, to adopt unusual postures easily. One complete sequence of bandhas, from Vātsyāyana on, appears to derive directly from yogic exercises, and this sequence becomes longer and more complicated in the later erotic treatises, until it includes really exorbitant tours de force, such as coition with the woman head-downwards in sirśāsana, or the phanipāśa and kukkuta bandhas described presently (p. 154). The use of yogic postures in this manner would be denounced by some modern gurus, who hold that the function of hatha yoga is to achieve mastery over the passions to the point of 'viewing all women alike and with indifference'—and defended by others, who point out that nowhere is it more desirable to master the passions than in coition. One object of these postures is, precisely, to delay ejaculation. The reported 'desensitization' of Tibetan Tāntric adepts by erotic figures and exhibitions, if true, has probably the same aim (Foreman, 1986). To us, it is probably even more interesting to notice that the

[1] The point of this complicated bandha may be that it enacts the mahāmudra or Great Ritual Gesture: in the prone form, it figures in the erotic breviaries of the Japanese Tāntrik Tachikawa sect (see Van Gulik, 1961).

linking, in hatha yoga, of physically-induced sensations and fantasy-induced changes in the body image, is extremely like some of the phenomena which we see occurring as spontaneous compulsions in fetishism—particularly the cultivating of sensations of compression, tension, fettering, and increased intracranial pressure, and schematic symbols such as the desire to suppress limbs or to conceal external genital characters—as well as bizarre features such as inordinate tongue protrusion or the ability to pump water into the rectum and bladder. Not only do many of these fantasies turn up regularly with a strong sexual cathexis in European and, indeed, in individual practice, but the tension-postures inflicted on the victims in our own extensive sadomasochistic picture-literature have a strong tendency to conform to yogic āsanas (acrobatic postures of symbolic significance).

There is neither time here, nor, probably, enough fact available to go into the psychological motives of yogic mysticism. The overt emphasis in yoga on ecstatic experiences which look like a regression to infancy, and on the achievement of subjective bisexuality (the yogic adept not only learns to retract his genitalia until they disappear, but also fantasies a vulva in his perineum as the point of origin of the kundalinī force which 'ascends' to his brain) may mislead us into making too much of the symbolism at the expense of direct physical stimuli—the fact that the fetishist gives them symbolic content, while the yoga-derived bandhas use the physical stimuli directly to arrive at enhanced sexual sensations, may mean no more than that such patterns are, to use Freud's term, 'overdetermined', and the stimuli are effective in themselves. At the same time, in view of the amount of apparent aggression which we see expressed and possibly discharged in Indian love-play, it is fascinating to speculate how far the multiplication of bandhas had a similar

adjustment value in getting rid of other pregenital compulsions. The similarity between the use of yogic postures in Indian erotic science, and the use of contorted postures, erotic bondage and the like in the sexual practice, art and fantasy of so many other cultures, including our own, can hardly be the result of accident.[1]

The apparent violence of Sanskrit lovers, although in the written descriptions it appears to our culture excessive, is more apparent than real, and is kept at the play-level by the rigid stylization imposed on it. We can easily overrate the part this element probably played in practice—the texts make it clear that the amounts of painfully violent behaviour acceptable to most people in most regions of India were slight; they never emphasize pain-infliction for its own sake, and they enjoin complete conformity to the tastes of the woman as the weaker partner —none of these are aggressively sadistic traits: the biting, scratching and slapping involved in the classified descriptions are probably well within the limits of coital behaviour by some normally-adjusted people in our own culture. Comparative studies have suggested that the very boisterous type of coition in which these acts predominate is typical of societies in which there is a measure of sexual equality,[2] and that the woman often initiates it.

[1] In spite of a few bizarre features, quite the best European treatise on coital postures, and the only one to approach the Indian spirit is that of Weckerle already quoted (L. van Weck Erlen (J. Weckerle MD, pseud.) 1907); he was a medical gymnast, whose motto is 'Abgemattet ward durch geschlechtliches Exzesse nur der ungeturnte Weichling', and who recommends fitting up a 'Sexuarium' complete with a gymnastic mat and bars. Any tendency to laugh is, or should be, counterbalanced by the fact that his book, unlike most erotica, is manifestly the product of personal practice and not, like the Ratirahasya, of tradition, or of fanatasy. Gymnastic mats apart, a great deal of his advice is sound: his classification and choice of postures shows no direct Indian influence, and Indian works are not quoted—the convergence between Teutonic gymnastics, Indian yoga, and Chinese k'ung fu (medical exercises) as correlates of sexual sensation is all the more interesting. I have used Weckerle as a source of cross-references to coital postures mentioned in this translation.

[2] Ford, C. S., and Beach, F. A. (1952).

By contrast, there are no markedly compulsive features—the cathexis of ritual flogging, for example, which accounts (partly, of course, through censorship) for almost the whole of the permitted erotic literature in our own culture, never appears at all. In the purusāyitabandha, the position in which she takes the male role, the woman consciously acts out the 'domination' of the man, which generates embarrassment or is repudiated in many other cultures on grounds of religion, hygiene, or male dignity; it is fully accepted in Indian literature as a fair exchange. This mode is constantly praised in literature—it is Pārvatī's way with the Lord Śiva, Lakshmī's way with the Lord Vishnu, and the way of the righteous. 'There are men with merit, won in past existences, who sip the honey of their women's lips, while the women, on top, hair down and flower-eyes half closed, fall asleep from the languor of orgasm. ... It is said that for a man with merit from past existences, the tongue is silent and the sound of her anklets is stilled, when the wife rides him in the purusāyita mode.' (Vasanta Vilāsa.) According to the poets, she should wear all her most jingling ornaments (ear-rings, waist-Band, anklets). Rādhā rides so upon the Lord Krishna (Gita-Govinda 2—7), while 'Lakshmī astride her Lord, lying supine, became bashful on seeing Brahma within His navel-lotus—therefore she shades His right eye (the sun) with her hand, to make the lotus close'. (Subaśita Ratnakara.) What is not unmanly in the Gods is certainly not beneath the dignity of Man.

Indeed, the real tenderness of Man's approach to Woman is a striking feature of the Indian, as against other Oriental erotic theories. While she is subject to the man, and to certain social penalties like those enjoined for her when he travels, she is expected to recoup herself in the sexual field. Vātsyāyana's comments are all in this direction—in adultery, Man must consider dharma,

though he may justify breaches of it if they are to his advantage: woman does not consider it, she loves regardless of it. As the obverse of this paternalism, it is the whole duty of man to please her sexually, restricting his own wishes and following her tastes and peculiarities even at the expense of his own.

It would be absurd to depict medieval Hindu culture as feminist in any contemporary sense, but its attitude seems markedly more congenial to us than that of other Eastern erotologies and can be much misjudged if we see it only through Victorian accounts of widow-burning. Most of the Arabic textbooks stand in a tradition which looks as if it has been heavily influenced by slavery as a domestic institution, so that they often cease to be erotic and become merely lascivious, the woman being less a partner than a subject for infliction, who should be amused in order to secure her co-operation, but who can very properly be raped if there is no other way of dealing with her. Some Arabic writers give grotesque prescriptions for compelling her to make sexually effective movements, or even to experience orgasm, against her will.

In the medieval Chinese household depicted in Chin P'ing Mei (Egerton, 1939), which is an unusually detailed fictional account of social and sexual behaviour in a polygamous upper-class home, the mistresses and wives of the womanizing hero are expected to gratify him with no reference to their own tastes, to be seduced, manhandled, bound, burned with incense and otherwise subjected to erotic experiments—as well as being savagely beaten in non-sexual contexts if they displease him. Though many of these sexual activities are traditional and are shown as being enjoyed, there is not much tenderness about it, and the women have no opportunity to express aggression themselves in coitus—they do so socially, however, by

intriguing against husbands and each other. The woman of Sanskrit literature is by contrast allowed, and in fact invited, to express it, to retaliate if the man is aggressive, to initiate aggression if she wishes. The man may certainly seek his own pleasure, but coitus is the woman's field. Chin P'ing Mei, as van Gulik (1951) points out, is a picaresque novel, and it may bear no more resemblance to the real habits of the period than do our own paperbacks. The erotic techniques of the Ming and earlier textbooks are much less violent. Yet from the woman's point of view this may not be a gain if it reduces the possibility of abreacting her frustrations in a conventional and accepted way which she knows will not threaten her husband's affection. The Indian woman of the Kāma Sūtra is like the secure child who is able to act out her aggressions in play without fear of losing parental love.

This attitude is typical of Indian literature generally. If the abandonment of Sīta or the loss of Draupadī at dice seem incompatible with companionable relations or reverence for woman, we must remember that they are inherited, like Jephtha's daughter, from folk-traditions: in their Classical setting they owe their poignancy precisely to the fact that later manners have introduced an element of tenderness into the story which makes the audience react to them, as we do to Antigone's condemnation.[1]

[1] The Brhadāranyaka Upanishad, which enjoins that coition is a sacrament, but that the husband may beat his wife if she refuses to cohabit, is at the same time the textual source for all modern Hindu feminism, in the esoteric teaching given by Yajñavalkya to his wife Maitreyī.

This Upanishad has a direct link with the genealogy of Vātsyāyana and the secular erotica. The sacramental account of sexual intercourse, together with some hints on eugenics, are given by Pravāhana Jaibali of Pañcāla to Uddālaka Āruni, who is seeking answers to the questions of his inquisitive son Śvetaketu (Brhadāranyaka U. vi 4, 4). Uddālaka Āruni is described as a teacher of esoteric arts: In Vātsyāyana we find Auddālaki Śvetaketu named as the founder of erotology and 'the Pañcāla country as its original venue . . . by connecting therewith Bābhravya, one of its original teachers' (S. K. De 1959).

In this connection it is important to realize that the love-Literature in Sanskrit is not intended only to codify manners and act as a source of practical advice—it was written as much, and in the case of the rhetoricians, much more, as a guide to writers, painters and dramatists, whom it provided with an Affektenlehre—a system of depicting love in a series of set classical contexts.

The two tasks—instruction in sex and instruction in art—were fully congruent: both, in terms of the 'threefold way'—Duty, Sensuality and Practical Living—are functions of the satisfaction of the senses and the desires that go with them (Kāma), and within this department all the experiences which we would call separately erotic and aesthetic are combined in a single type of pleasure, srngāra ('affection' and 'affect' rolled into one). This embraces the appreciation of beauty generally and the appreciation of the beauty of woman, the pleasure derived from satisfying desire engendered by past experience of pleasant activities (hunting, music, or sexual intercourse), plus the 'drive' which accompanies pleasant sensations, to secure their repetition or continuance. The 'drive' is Kāma—inferior, in the Indian view, both to artha ('gathering gear'—useful and profitable activity) and to dharma (knowledge of the Right Conduct, both religious and rational). Srngāra is the emotion of those whose Kāma is for the moment being satisfied—and also, since 'separation is a kind of love', the various bitter-sweet experiences associated with the temporary baulking of Kāma, by which its intensity is eventually enhanced. These are the subjects of art in general: love itself is an art, and art concerned with love has a double efficacy in interpreting or creating two sources of srngāra at the same time. We meet the same idea in the religious use of sexual subjects —they are at once doctrinally instructive, leading us to one kind of release (moksa) through the truths they sym-

bolize, another through the srngāra of art, and yet another through the invitation to seek the srngāra of sexual activity.[1]

* * *

Apart from anything they may tell us about nāyikās in our own culture, then, the Indian erotic and rhetorical writers give us an essential key to the identity and iconography of the nāyikās who are the favourite subjects of Indian art. Looking at this art without them is very like attempting to understand Renaissance painting without knowing the outlines of Greek mythology and the names of the more important Saints. The rhetoricians laid down a series of situations proper to the depiction of love in all its phases, and nāyikās and their partners appear in these situations for our recognition. Thus an Indian artist will depict the prositapatikā (she whose husband is travelling) where a Renaissance artist would have entitled his picture 'Penelope', or vipralabdhā (she who is jilted and left waiting at a rendezvous) where Augustus Egg would have called his picture, 'He cometh not, she said.' The literary element in Renaissance or Victorian art, Christian pictures of saints, and Indian pictures of nāyikās is thus very similar, and the artist in each case is assuming that we will know the background of his allusion.

In Indian art these nāyikās are omnipresent. Those who dance, bathe, pick flowers or make love in Rajasthani and similar paintings are often raginīs—that is, nāyikās whose conventional situation is matched to a particular colour and a particular musical mode. Others are specifically drawn for picture-books of rāsas—the rhetorical typologies, or 'flavours' of love and of mood. The topics vary from system to system, but beside the prositapatikā

[1] For a fuller account of Indian rhetorical psychology and of the various rāsas see Kannoomal (1920).

and the vipralabdhā mentioned already we can usually recognize the svādhīnapatikā (who keeps her husband with her by her charms), the virahotkanthitā (whose lover has been sent for but does not answer), the vāsakasajjā (who is waiting eagerly for him to come to an assignation), the kalahāntaritā (who has quarrelled and now regrets it), the khanditā (whose lover comes to her with a poor sexual appetite, bearing marks she did not make) and the abhisārikā (who abandons all shame, braving the night and the weather, and goes to find him).[1] Beside these we have the prosyatapatikā (whose husband talks of a journey, while she, dishevelled and without her ornaments, tries to persuade him to stay at home). We also meet a division of each category into 'good', 'medium' and 'poor'—'good' who is angry only when she has cause, 'medium' who sometimes picks needless quarrels but makes them up, and 'poor'—who scolds and finds fault with a blameless lover—and their respective men, the faithful, the tactfully unfaithful (daksina), the brazen, and the real cad. The source of these is in the Kāvyālamkāra and similar books, but brief accounts of them have been introduced into some of the works on erotics proper, such as the Ananga Ranga, in addition to the purely sexual typologies of 'lotus ladies', 'deer' and the like—categories based on physique (see pp. 123–6).

In temple sculpture, particularly the medieval temple sculpture of East and Central India, nāyikās are everywhere. Some are yaksīs, guardian spirits and female fauns in the retinue of the god Kubera—tall girls with snub noses, types of the 'shell lady' (śankhinī), who serve as

[1] 'If a respectable woman goes on an errand of love, she keeps her ornaments quiet and hides her face—when a whore goes on a similar errand she goes in conspicuous clothes, anklets jingling, smiling at the passers-by. . . . A field, a garden, a ruined temple, the go-between's own house, an inn, burning-ground, wood, or river-bank are the eight places for assignations—or anywhere which is dark.' Sāhityadarpana, 116—7.

onlookers, panel-fillers, caryatids and proppers of door-posts (stambhapattalikā). Others are apsarases and sura-sundarīs, types of the 'picture' or 'fancy' lady (citrinī), heavenly assistants to the chief hetaira of heaven Urvaśī, whose mission is to tempt and foil overweening sages when by austerities they have almost achieved perfection and are becoming dangerously holy. Others, with their partners, are gandharvas (angelic musicians) or kinnaras (bird-people) flying or dancing in tympana of doors or spandrels of arches and ceiling-corners. But many of them are straightforward human girls, with the typical figure and face of the region—thinking, playing with birds, titivating, combing out hair, and, above all, making love with their nāyakas in the maithuna groups which are one of the unique beauties of Hindu plastic art. Only a few of them have succumbed to ecstasy, forgotten that this is a public place, and become lost to the world in petting or coition—most are coy or quietly amorous; figures out of any crowd at a festival who have forgotten each other long enough to be looking at the show. A few are married couples (dampatī) who are there in their capacity as donors or patrons. Many are simply standing together, with a more vivid sense of quiet in each other's company than any other lovers in art. One can overhear their whispered conversation. Their confident tenderness often seems to have spread to other categories of being—the gānas, grotesques who are packed in at the bottoms of friezes and into medallions which will only hold a dwarf, or nāgas (snake spirits) who with their nāginīs have silently intertwined the tips of their tails. The single figures, who are there, no doubt, in the character of apsarases, resting momentarily from their dancing, have become equally human; though alone, they do not intend to be so for long—meanwhile they are writing letters, looking for thorns in their feet, or gazing into mirrors—

either blindly, in preoccupied appreciation of their own beauty, or more circumspectly, looking for the nailmarks left as tokens by their last lover.

The cumulative effect of all these women who celebrate tenderness and pleasure in the situations where our own religious art celebrates pain and deprivation—divine women who are not virgins, or will not be virgins a moment longer than they can help it, who take obvious pride in the acceptance of love, not in its repudiation—is to give Hindu religious art a unique warmth in European eyes. Once we know its iconography and assent to its manners—to the many-armed deities, reconciled to us now by motion-Photographs, whose retinue all these crowds of human and angelic beings form—we are likely to return to Christian religious art with an increasing sense of emotional starvation. This need not depend on any Schwärmerei for things Hindu. Together with its nāyikās classical Hinduism has produced ascetics even more grotesque than our own, but even this cannot make St Ursula and her 10,000 virgins, or St Lucy sending her eyes to her lover on a platter, anything but deeply distasteful by comparison. When occasional Indians express the wish that the Archaeological Commission would 'clean up' temple sculpture by tactfully removing the more erotic of the maithunas, as offensive to modern Indian prudery, one might wish to tell them that they are looking for obscenity in the wrong place, and that it would be much more comprehensible, though no more justified, if these would-be iconoclasts sharpened their penknives on some of the more emotionally-mischievous of our own saints.

The gain which modern English readers are likely to get from Indian erotic literature is precisely of this kind, whatever their motives in wanting to read it. Not many will learn sexual techniques that they do not know, or

could not have invented for themselves. What is profitable to them— and us—in spite of the distance of time and culture which separates us from Sanskrit literature, is in the contrast of attitudes—acceptance and pleasure where we have for generations been taught to look for danger and guilt.

Moral instruction, which so overweights our sexual literature, is not neglected—we are warned of the unwisdom of vice, but not too zealously. Sometimes Vātsyāyana, and Kokkoka after him, sound murderously cynical—in detailing the procedure for seduction, for instance, or the practical grounds which excuse adultery. In fact, however, as anyone in medicine or law who is accustomed to hearing the real calculations and motives of his fellow-citizens will recognize, they are only expressing baldly aims and devices which most of us at some time harbour, but prefer to dissemble—if we do not hire professional bawds to do our seducing for us, the difference is purely cultural, not moral—and nobody can say that the Indian Masters—often themselves ascetics—fail to warn us of the painful consequences of such irregularity.

The parakīya rāsa or adulterous 'flavour' in love has itself a religious significance. As seen in the love of Krishna and Rādhā it typifies the most selfless form of devotion, precisely because of the disregard it shows for prudential considerations.

Unlike Vātsyāyana, Kokkoka has little to say about prostitutes—his seducer aims at a married woman. The reason for this exclusion is odd—it is not moral, for the hetaira was a highly-honoured member of the old courtly societies comparable in status to the concert pianist or the ballerina in our own, and equally, as an artist, a mistress of Kāma; the less aristocratic lady-who-lives-by-her-beauty (rūpajivā) was not despised, though a

Brahmin should avoid her. Kokkoka probably left out the professional because she comes under the domain of Artha (useful and gainful arts) not only of Kāma (pure aesthesis)—such a practical bias is a higher motive in the Indian view, and does her credit: Becky Sharp pursuing Artha is more honourable for that reason than Juliet muddling herself to death through mere unpractical infatuation arising from Kāma, which profited nobody. But by the same token professionalism is outside Kokkoka's terms of reference.

Those things in Kokkoka which will enrage Christians are only the obverse of those things in Christianity which make Hindus rate it a religion for barbarians (mlecchamata)—the gulf is unbridgeable; but once again, without swallowing Hinduism whole, the difference in attitude is deeply instructive and tends to give us insight, if we let it, into our cultural preconceptions.

I have argued elsewhere that the main social function of erotic literature is in cultivating a sense of permission and overcoming sexual anxiety, rather than in imparting specific information.[1] A society able to support an erotic literature directed specifically to enjoyment, like the literatures of 'hunting, dancing or music', Kokkoka's other examples of 'desire generated by the recollection of a pleasing activity—ābhyāsikī prīti—' has overcome most of its sexual anxieties. It is the need for this type of reassurance, rather than for 'stimulation' in a society where these anxieties have been artificially fostered and sustained, which creates the large public demand for a specifically erotic literature today. The informative function is subsidiary to this—such literature tends to elaboration and development as a part of its assertion of acceptance, and of the idea that physical pleasure is to be frankly celebrated. To Vātsyāyana it was in any case

[1] Comfort, A. (1961).

natural that the techniques of Kāma as sexual aesthesis should require study like the techniques of other aesthetic or practical activities.

'Dharma is the right ordering of sacrifices, the knowledge of right conduct, and other matters of permanency, which are not of this world, and from which we look for no immediate profit; also the mortification of the flesh, and such right actions as tend to immediate profit. It is to be learned from the scriptures and from associating with philosophers. The means of getting and increasing knowledge, land, precious metals, cattle, grain, gear, friends is Artha. These we learn from administrators, scholars of the śastras, merchants and craftsmen. The due order and operation upon the mind after their several fashion of the five senses . . . is Kāma. But the sensation arising from the special contacts proper to the desire of the sexes is the quintessential Kāma. This is to be learned from the textbooks of love and from contact with people. Now the Kāma of beasts is instinctive, and arises of itself, requiring no textbook, say the sages; but Kāma in the physical union of man and woman requires assistance, and the manner of this assistance is to be learned from the textbooks of Love, says Vātsyāyana. In animals mating takes place of itself, because the female has no false modesty, copulates when in heat until she is satisfied, and the act is not accompanied by the need to take thought for anything.' (Some say that Kāma is best avoided altogether, and point to notable cases where it has produced the undoing of those who follow it.) 'But in fact, it is as necessary for the well-being of the body as is food, and in pursuing it we minister to both Dharma and Artha. As for its dangers, we should learn from them. We do not cease to cook food because there are beggars, or to plant vegetables because there are wild deer (sc. to eat them before we can).

'A man should accordingly study the textbooks of Love without neglecting those devoted to Dharma and Artha: a woman should study them before she attains puberty, or, when married, at her husband's discretion. Some scholars say that because a woman may not study the śastras there is no point in giving her a textbook of Love. But women excel in all practical matters, and since practice depends on theory, they should study the textbook, says Vātsyāyana. There are few persons generally who are fit to study the śastras, but all profit from practice, and practice is the eventual source of all textbooks.' (Neither elephant-drivers nor, for that matter, kings, learn their practice from books, so much as from experience and from watching others.) 'There are women fully grounded in the textbooks of love—professional hetairae, princesses and the daughters of high officials. A woman should learn privately from a reliable person of this kind the practice and the theory, or part of the theory.'

He then widens the thesis into a plea for the general education of women, if not in the śastras at least in a formidable list of Sixty-Four Arts, ranging from dancing to metalwork, poetry, veterinary surgery and strategy. The art of love is simply the most important part of a liberal education directed, in our jargon, to 'the fuller life'. This is an attitude from which our own time and our own culture seems ripe to learn.

As about the object of the undertaking, I would like to be franker than some past 'translators' of Sanskrit about the scholarly claims of this version. My knowledge of the language is confined to what little I have acquired in studying this literature for its content, and without existing translations into other languages I could not have made much of the Ratirahasya. All work on Sanskrit erotica owes more or less of its matter (in my case, more) to R. Schmidt's great scholarly compendium of Sanskrit

texts with translations, partly into German and partly into Latin (1911), and to his German edition of the Kāma Sūtra and Jayamangala; I also had Leinhard's full and authoritative German translation of the Ratirahasya, Iyengar's translation of the Kāma Sūtra, the help of Indian friends, and the various other English and Indian versions of Sanskrit erotica already mentioned. On the other hand I have not simply translated a translation—I have been through the original text and the translations, not with any hope of poaching successfully on Sanskrit scholarship, but to see how far I could make sense of them in terms of what is now known of sexual behaviour in other cultures, and of human biology generally. Sanskrit scholars will probably be wise to ignore this version altogether, as a paraphrase, and go to Lienhard, if not to the original. For reasons I have given in the essay, it is the scientific audience and the general public I really had in mind.

II

THE LATER TEXTS

My method of procedure in giving a view of this tradition is, as already explained, to translate one work, the oldest after the Kāma Sūtra, in full, and to fit the major divergences and developments of the later works into parallel footnotes. Schmidt, with praiseworthy thoroughness, gives full translations and the text of each work in a parallel collation, but the differences of matter are mostly so small that it would be hard to justify an English exercise of the same kind.

I have already mentioned most of the later and subsidiary sources by name. Before going on to the annotated example, it might be as well to survey them in rather greater detail. The Kāma Sūtra belongs to ancient Indian literature, the Ratirahasya to medieval, i.e. it already addresses a different kind of society, and incorporates ideas not known to Vātsyāyana. The later texts run on through medieval and early modern times, spanning the Moslem and eventually the Christian invasions and going on, in spite of the prohibitive activities of these religions and of 'reformist' Hindus themselves, up to the present day. Perhaps the tradition has at last exhausted its vitality —it is interesting that the most modern posture-book to have been widely circulated in India was an English translation of the first 200-odd prescriptions from the work of Weckerle already cited (under the title 'Kinaesthesia of Love'). Already, therefore, such writing has moved from being the fruit of tradition to being the

operational result of an individual's study. The generation of Gandhi and his disciples distrusts the tradition of erotology and would not be sorry if it became a thing of the past. That, to my mind, would be a pity.

The course of Indian erotology after the Ratirahasya is chiefly imitative. Some texts hark back to the Kāma Sūtra directly—others add new material. Nearly all the main matter of later tradition is already present in Kokkoka, with two exceptions: the number of stylized endearments increases, massage, grasping, hairpulling and finger games being added to kisses, ṇailmarks and bites; and material is introduced from the rhetoricians, especially in describing the categories of nāyikā or heroine. Acceptance of oral practices also increases steadily with the passage of time. (Some of these differences may well represent a shift in the region where literary activity was greatest—the late works seem to have their origins South and East of the early texts.)

After Kokkoka, the astrological classification of women (padminī, etc.) becomes paramount: it is the one quoted in India today. Palmistry, recipes and spells become general; a few text, like the Ratiśastra-ratnāvalī, bring in eugenics and the art of begetting children endowed with various qualities, superstitions which have retained their popularity and gradually ousted the more practical, and specifically sexual, instruction of Kokkoka, often, one suspects, as a consequence of the influence of prudery and censorship. This pseudo-eugenic material, absent from Vātsyāyana, is actually very old, some of the instructions of the Ratiśastra-ratnāvalī being taken from the section on procreation in the Brhadāranyaka Upanishad.

1. THE PANCASĀYAKA OF JYOTIRĪŚVARA KAVISEKHARA

This treatise (The 'Five Arrows', after the flower-headed weapons of Kāmadeva, Cupid), next in age after the Koka Shastra, belongs probably to the first half of the fourteenth century. It is in elegant short-line verse, unlike the long lines of the Ratirahasya; the exordium is very like Kokkoka's however:

'Perfume of Love, Comrade in intercourse with the beloved, Giver of Joys, whose service is Desire, hail to the bearer of the Makara (mythical beast of the Ganges) banner, the sole fount of blind desire, Kāma, whom living nature serves! Lord of the earth, honoured for granting us the means of daily slaking our devotion to him, Worshipper of Śrikantha on earth, treasurehouse of the sixty-four Arts, pillar of instruction in music . . . worshipper of the lotus feet of Parvatī. To set forth the instruction of Kāma, as given by the Lord Śiva, by Vātsyāyana; with the additions of Gonīputraka and Mūladeva; with a distillate of the wisdom of Bābhravya; with the teaching of the experts Nandīśvara and Rantideva, and the science of Ksemendra—is composed THE FIVE ARROWS, for the satisfaction of all lovers.'

The antagonism and reconciliation of Śiva and Kāma is explained elsewhere (p. 111)—the majority of these old erotic texts are still Śaiva in orientation, in contrast to the later Vaisnava erotic cults of Rādhā and Krishna. Some MSS give the name of the author as Jyotiriśvara—of the other sources, Gonīputraka is probably the Gonikāputra of the Kāma Sūtra, Ksemendra was the great Kashmiri poet and dramatist: Mūladeva according to Jain traditions, is the attributive author of a treatise on thieving. From this exordium, the 'Five Arrows', like Kokkoka's poem, sets out

to combine the old system of the Kāma Sūtra with the newer astrology. Schmidt dates it from the eleventh century—which would make it contemporary with the great Hindu and sexual revival of the temple-builders. MSS vary in completeness—Schmidt's text gives the contents of the poem as follows:

First Arrow—the lover as city gentleman, the professional conversationalist (following the Kāma Sūtra); the classification of women, the astrological calendar of love.

Second Arrow—the physical classification of men and women, by body size; the geography of love—local customs; the female genitalia; the philosophy of affection.

Third Arrow—receipts for perfumes and attractants.

Fourth Arrow—remedial and magical receipts, spells.

Fifth Arrow—the female genitalia, reprise and continuation; the coital positions; love-cries.

This looks disorganized, compared with the same material in the Ratirahasya—the section on caresses and extras is missing, and two volumes of leechdoms have apparently got into the middle of the text: however, Schmidt's MS is one of the least complete. Others which are longer, but have never been published, apparently include all the typical caresses, as well as hair pulling and blows for the woman to strike in coitus.

The Pañcasāyaka achieved nothing like Kokkoka's popularity with later generations; the passages which Schmidt quotes lack the Ratirahasya's verve.

2. THE KANDARPACŪDĀMANI OF VĪRABHADRADEVA

This poem ('The Tiara of the Love-God') is a technically-skilful and very faithful transliteration of the Kāma Sūtra (which is, of course, a prose work) into Arya verses —an exercise rather comparable to the composition of the Scottish Metrical Psalter. It looks like the work of a court poet, who must have been a ghost commissioned by 'god-like King Vīrabhadra' to carry out the transformation. The exordium is interesting in that it now genuflects to both Śaiva and Vaisnava cults—'Glory in the highest to Bhairav [Śiva]—as he looked in anger on Daksa, may he look in compassion on his faithful believer, and may his Eye bring salvation! Obeisance too, ye wise, to Krishna, Master of the Arts of Love, who drank secret joys from the cherry lips of the gopīs, sweeter than nectar! Obeisance to the Lord of Five Arrows, Minister of Spring-time, whose country is the lotus-eyed lady, and whose transport is the wind from Malaya! Hail to the clan of the Vaghela, honorable to Kings, and to the Enemy of Kansa [Krishna] compared with whom all earthly princes are of small account....' Follows a further panegyric of Krishna and of Rāma, and of their divine descendant Vīrabhadra, whose curiosity the work is commissioned to appease. Evidently he was not the author, though his name appears on the credit title. The text is a word-for-word reproduction of the comparable passages in Vātsyāyana, diverging only to express, for example, King Vīrabhadra's dislike of the oral practices which Vātsyāyana cites (see p. 137 note).

3. THE SMARADĪPIKĀ

This poem—or rather, these poems, for there appear to be more than one of the same name, 'Light of Love'—are a far more interesting proposition, for they appear to represent a genuinely distinct flavour among schools of erotology, both from that of Vātsyāyana, and from that of Kokkoka. It is interesting to speculate that the difference may have been regional—classical Indian erotics are supposed to have originated in the Pañcala country, home of the heroes of the Mahabharata, while the various Smaradīpikās probably come from further South. The author is given as Kadra or Rudra or Garga; the exordium is very like Kokkoka's: 'Hail to Love, who, though scorched to a cinder by the eye of Śiva, yet made half his enemy's body to become feminine. Through the gentle god of scented flowers, the shame-fastness of the tenderest girl is healed. One Rudra, who overcame every obstacle and kindled love in this way: wrote the Smaradīpikā (Light of Love) to instruct the inexperienced and give satisfaction to the hearts of women, by collecting what was best in many treatises on the art. Those who have technique in love are beloved by women; those who lack instruction can only cover them like so many cattle. The joy of love-play, manifested in so many attractive forms, makes the human condition blessed, for not even a bull surrounded by a hundred cows experiences that joy as we do. How to handle their own women, and attract other men's women, is the profit which students may draw from this book, likewise a knowledge of the different postures and actions. He who has lived one year with the Love God's favour has lived for all time and counts all else as nothing.

'We will first describe men, thereafter women; next the penis and thereafter the queynt, then the sites of love and

the migrations proper to it; then the sixteen frontal postures, with the six postures from behind; the two postures with the woman above, and the manner of oral coitus; the outer modes of lovemaking and its regional variations—the language of gestures, the use of go-betweens, the eight types of nāyikā; spells, medicines, and how to get a male heir.'

In fact, beside these matters, the text covers most of what is in the Ratirahasya. The chief differences are in the catalogues of postures, which have by now acquired different names, and the addition of the nāyikās and the control of the child's sex at conception.

In the Smaradīpikā we encounter the material taken from the rhetoricians, namely the typological heroines. In the rhetorical works these are endlessly subdivided; the main and classical types, differing in name from source to source, but identical in essence, are these: 'she who by coquetry and charm keeps her lover under her thumb (svādhīnabhartrkā); she who, full of impatience, waits for her tardy lover (virahotkanthitā); she who has sent for him and waits, looking out of the door (vāsakasajjā); she who has quarrelled with him, and sits in a huff, repenting of it (kupitā, kalahāntaritā); she who is jilted and left at a tryst (vipralabdhā); she whose lover comes back in the morning tired and covered with marks she did not make (khanditā); she who drunken with wine or love loses all shame and goes to find her lover (abhisārikā—iconographically the loveliest of the nāyikās—her blend of fear and daring seems to appeal uniquely to the literary tradition: her abandon is the type of the Bahmins' wives who crept out to seek the Lord Krishna, as well as of secular forbidden love); and she who sits unadorned and grieving while her lover is on a journey (prositapatikā)'. Alternatives, or additions, to the canon in some texts are 'she

whose husband meditates a journey, and who tries to dissuade him with tears and dishevellment' and 'she who tosses on her bed full of unassuaged desire, while her husband practices austerities and ignores her love'—Pārvatī herself, as consort of the Great Ascetic, figures sometimes in this role.

4. THE ANANGA RANGA OF KALYĀNAMALLA

The Ananga Ranga of Kalyānamalla is, after the Kāma Sūtra and the Ratirahasya, the most celebrated and influential of Indian erotic texts, both inside India, and, still more, outside, via the translations of Burton and Lamairesse. It probably dates from the sixteenth century, though its present form may be late. The name means 'The Stage of the Love-God'. Its popularity in the Burton-Arbuthnot version is perhaps unfortunate, for, as we have already said, the pandits served Burton ill, and the original itself is a poorer and more pedantic production than Kokkoka's.

The exordium is Śaivaite. 'May you be purified by Pārvatī, who tinted her nails, once clear as the Ganges water, with lac after beholding the fire upon the Forehead of the Self-Sufficient; who painted her eyes with kohl after seeing the dark bruise upon the neck of the Self-Sufficient;[1] whose body hairs stood on end with desire after seeing in a mirror the ashes smeared upon the body of the Self-Sufficient. Hail to Kāma, Playmate, Wanton, dweller in all created hearts, giver of courage in battle, slayer of Sambhara the Asura and of the Rakshasas, who suffices unto Rati, and to the loves and pleasures of the world.' (The last phrase is Burton, and well worth keeping.)

The dedication is to Lad Khan, son of Ahmad Khan, of the Lodi house (A.D. 1450—1526), 'by the great Princely Sage and Archpoet Kalyānamalla, versed in all the arts'; the present text appears to be rather later than this. The Burton version continues, 'It is true that no joy in the world of mortals can compare with that derived from knowledge of the Creator. Second, however, and subordinate only to this, are the satisfaction and pleasure

[1] Left on the occasion when He swallowed the poison that threatened to depopulate heaven and earth.

arising from the possession of a beautiful woman. Men, it is true, marry for the sake of undisturbed congress, as well as for love and comfort, and often they obtain handsome and attractive women. But they do not give them plenary contentment, nor do they themselves thoroughly enjoy their charms. The reason of which is that they are purely ignorant of the Scripture of Cupid, the Kāma Shastra; and despising the difference between the several kinds of women, they regard them only in an animal point of view. Such men must be looked on as foolish and unintelligent, and this book is composed with the object of preventing lives and loves being wasted in similar manner . . .'

The scope of the Ananga Ranga covers the stock matter, plus the Eight Nāyikās, a longish section on palmistry, and (in Burton at least, though not in the Sanskrit texts I have seen) an extended account of the pompoir (vādavaka). 'She must ever strive to close and constrict the Yoni until it holds the Lingam, as with a finger, opening and shutting at her pleasure, and finally acting as the hand of the Gopālagirl, who milks the cow. This can be learned only by long practice, and especially by throwing the will into the part affected. . . . Her husband will then value her above all women, nor would he exchange her for the most beautiful Pānī (queen) in the Three Worlds. So lovely and pleasant to the man is she-who-constricts.' Further to all this we have a footnote: 'Such an artist is called by the Arabs Kabbāzah, literally "a holder" and it is not surprising that the slave dealers pay large sums for her. All women have more or less the power, but they wholly neglect it. . . .' All this, needless to say, is pure, but informative, Burton.

Of the astrological classes of women Burton says, or makes the Ananga Ranga say, 'The same correspond with the four different phases of Moksha, or Release from

further transmigration. The first, padminī, is Sāyyujyatā, or absorption into the essence of the Deity. The second, citriṇī, is Sāmīpyata, nearness to the Deity: the third, śankhini, is Sarūpatā, or resemblance to the Deity in limbs and material body, the last, hastinī, is Salokatā, or residence in the Heaven of some especial god. ...' Presumably this is out of a commentary—from its tone a late one—but there is no sign of it in the Ananga Ranga itself.

5. THE RATIMANJARĪ OF JAYADEVA

By contrast with the pomposity of the Ananga Ranga, the Ratimañjarī of Jayadeva ('The Posy of Love') is a charming little work of only 125 ślokas: it has been published in Sanskrit (see Pavolini, 1904) and in a parallel Hindi version, but not, it seems, in English. There is room here for the whole of it. The matter and the names of postures run parallel with the Smaradīpikā, some lines being held in common: the verse is elegant and compact—it is not by 'the' Jayadeva, author of the Gita Govinda, but more probably by one Jayadeva the Encyclopaedist; or by some other Jayadeva, nobody can now say. It looks a lateish work. The text runs:

In perpetual homage to the Lord Śiva, Stealer of Hearts, the Ratimañjarī is composed by the sage Jayadeva. Wherein is assembled by the said Jayadeva the pith of the ratiśastras and the kāmaśastras.

Padminī (lotus woman), citrinī (picture or 'fancy' woman),[1] śankhinī (chank-shell woman) and hastinī (elephant woman)—such are the natures of women by birth.

Śaśa (hare), mrga (gazelle), vrsa (bullock) and aśva (stallion)—such are the natures of men by birth.

Eyes like a lotus, with little nostrils, round breasts a little apart, with fine hair, slender body:

Sweet-voiced, well-tempered, musical, beautifully clothed throughout—such is a padminī, and she smells of lotus.

An expert in love, not too tall, not too short, with a pretty nose like a til-flower, a jewel body and lotus eyes.

With hard breasts that meet each other, a beauty; of pleasant nature and talented—such is the citrinī, and she is wayward.

[1] The terms are explained on p. 113, footnote.

A tall girl, with slant eyes, an admirable, beauty, devoted to the pleasures of love, talented and of good character,

Whose neck is adorned with three folds—such is a śankhinī, and a pastmistress, they say, in love-play.

A girl with plump lips, plump buttocks and plump queynt, plump-fingered and plump-breasted, kind, a greedy one for love,

Who is strong, loves violent coition—such is a karinī (hastinī) and she is hard to satisfy.

The lotus lady (padminī) is matched with the 'hare', the picture-lady (citrinī) loves the 'deer'.

The shell-lady (śankhinī) is matched with the 'ox', the elephantess (hastinī) with the 'stallion'.

The padminī smells of the lotus, the citrinī of fish,

The śankhinī has a sharp smell, the hastinī smells of elephant musk.

Young girl (bālā), young woman (tarunī), experienced woman (praudhā), and old woman (vrddhā) are the women one may take. And the properties of each when enjoyed are these:

Until sixteen years, a young girl (bālā)—until thirty she is a young woman (tarunī), until fifty-five an experienced woman (praudhā), and an old woman (vrddhā) thereafter.

The young girl is a lover of flowers and sweet things, the young woman is given to love-play,

The praudhā to the give and take of love, the old woman to hard knocks.

The young girl gives a man pleasure and the breath of life (prana), the young woman draws out the breath of life—the praudhā brings old age, the old woman brings death.

With the waxing moon in the first half of the month, the 'trigger' of love lies in the toe, the foot, the lower

back, the two knees, the thighs,

The navel, the armpits and calves, the cheeks and throat, the scalp, the lower lip

The eyes, the ears, the space between the breasts, and the hairparting of the well-browed woman according to her kind:

The lunar progression of each woman resides in the hairparting, the eye, the lip, the neck, the armpits and the nipples, the navel, the waist, the queynt,

The round of the leg, the thighs, the knuckles, soles and surface of the foot, and the toes—migrating thus in the dark half of the month,

In the bright phase of the moon, love dwells in the left little toe,

In the darker, it is in the ventral side of the same finger.

In the bright phase of the moon, love resides in the right half of man and the left half of woman,

But the case is reversed in the darker phase.

If a woman is strong, she should be loved then in the inverse (purusayita) manner (i.e., astride on her partner, like a man): as the site of love changes, so should the mistress be enjoyed.

The expert kisses his mistress on the eye, the throat, the cheek, the heart, and on her two thighs—

On her face, calves, buttocks, brush, and the house of love, and on her two breasts: upon these the expert at all times kisses his mistress,

When she sucks in her breath ('makes the sound "sīt"') he embraces her with passion, kisses her cheeks and her throat repeatedly and clasps her tightly,

Raising her pubis with his hands, himself crying 'sit', and stooping to kiss her sweetly,

With a caress given to her breasts and his penis set to her queynt the expert thus enjoys her.

With his nail-tips he makes three or five scratch-marks on her back, her lower belly and her queynt and thus does an expert make love to a woman.

Having made such nailmarks and pressing her lips with his teeth he takes her strongly about the neck and strikes her queynt with his penis.

Having made her thus provision of a penis he holds her tight, presses her two thighs together and without hesitation plies her (lit. beats her womb).

Embracing the woman, stroking both breasts, her queynt and her navel by turns, striking continually with his penis.

He seizes her by the hair with violence while battering her queynt, then setting a kiss on her mouth he strokes her queynt with his hand.[1]

The padminī is brought to pleasure by stroking her breasts, pressing her lower lip strongly, and by coitus in the lotus position (see below).

The citrinī is brought to pleasure by the cry of 'sīt', by hard kisses on neck and hands, and by the hand on her breast.

The śankhinī is brought to pleasure when man and woman mutually kiss queynt and penis and by passionate coition thereafter.

The hastini is brought to pleasure by seizing her forcibly by her tether-rope of hair, and plying her queynt with the hand.

Now the queynt of woman should be like the back of a tortoise, the shoulder of an elephant,[2] lotus-scented, hairless and well-spread: these five are accounted desirable.

One which is cold, deep, too high, or rough like a cow's tongue—these four are accounted undesirable by experts in kāma-śastra.

[1] The Hindi translation takes each of these ślokas as a different technique of approach: I have taken them as a short account of the classical mignardizes (nailmarks, toothmarks, hairpulling and erotic blows) with the cues for each in a single coition.

[2] or 'cassia blossom'.

The penis of man is described by experts as being of two kinds—the club, or the whistle: the first is stout, the second is long and thin.

A man who is fond of women, a good singer, cheerful, having a penis six fingerbreadths long, and clever—such is a hare (śaśaka).

One who is a paragon, virtuous, truthful, and courteous, having an eight-finger penis, and handsome—such is a gazelle (mrga).

One who is serviceable, uxorious, phlegmatic, with a ten-finger member, and prudent—such is a bullock (vrsa).

One who is tough, with a body of solid wood, insolent, of deceitful habits, fearless, with a twelve-finger penis, and no money—such is a stallion (aśva; haya).

When a woman does not wish to make love with her husband or lover for lack of pleasure, he should make trial of the various bandhas.

Padmāsana (the lotus seat), nāgapāda (the elephant foot), latāvesta (the creeper cling), ardhasamputa (the halfcasket), kuliśa (the thunderbolt), sundara (the beautiful), and likewise keśara (the tress of hair), hillola (the wave), nārasimha (Vishnu's man-lion) and viparīta (the reversed), ksudgara (the petty?), dhenuka (the cow) and utkantha (the throat trick), simhāsana (the lion seat), ratināga (the pleasure snake) and vidhyādhara (the warlock), these are the sixteen modes of carnal copulation

If with the woman in padmāsana (i.e., with each foot laid on the opposite groin—the meditative posture of Hātha-yoga) he embraces her with his hands, and so swyves her deeply, it is the lotus position (padmāsana).

If throwing her legs on his two shoulders the adept gently sets his penis in her queynt, this is called the elephant foot (nāgāpada).

If he enwraps the woman with arms and legs and strikes gently on her queynt it is the creeper cling (latāvesta).

If he raises her two feet somewhat upward (skyward) sets his knees on the ground and forcibly massages her breasts, it is the half casket (ardhasamputa).

If he violently splays her feet apart and batters her queynt with his penis it is the thunderbolt (kuliśa).

If he raises her two feet, lays hold on her breasts, and drinks from her lips, it is the beautiful (ratisundara).

If pressing her calves and rubbing her breasts with his arms he repeatedly strikes into her queynt, it is the tress of hair (keśara).

If he puts the woman's feet to his heart, holds her hands in his, and strikes into her queynt at pleasure, it is the wave (hillola).

If he presses her feet (together), violently penetrates her and embraces her tightly with his hands it is known as the Man-lion[1] (nārasimha).

If he puts one of her feet to his thigh, and the other to his groin, this is called the reverse (viparīta).

If he puts her feet up to (his?) sides, beats on the queynt with his penis, and strikes hard with his arms (?) it is the petty? (ksudgara).

If a drowsy lover embraces his wife when she is

[1] After the demon-slaying avatar of Visnu, shown always disembowelling an enemy who lies face-up across his knees.

drowsy, thrusting his penis into her queynt, this is the cow position (dhenuka) [We seem to need 'face down' but the text has 'drowsy' (suptā)].

If he puts the woman's feet to her throat with his hands, embraces her forcefully (or another reading, handles her breasts) and so takes her, it is known as the throat trick (utkantha).

If he puts her feet to his arms and calves, holds her by the breast and so takes her, it is the lion seat (simhāsana).

If the adept presses (encircles) his mistress with both his thighs, this is the love-snake (ratināga), a device that steals the hearts of women.

If seizing her thighs he strikes her with his hands and takes her with extreme violence this is called the warlock (vidhyādhara).

One who brings a woman near him and then boldly seizes her two feet may be known thereby as a sexual athlete who has studied the śastras. All men should attend carefully to the study of these, acquire knowledge of love-skill, and make trial with women of the sixteen bandhas. Thus is completed the summary made by Jayadeva, the interpreter of sexual learning in the śastras.

The end of the Ratimañjarī written by Jayadeva.

6. THE DINĀLĀPANIKĀ ŚUKASAPTATĪ

The last major source (of uncertain date) quoted by Schmidt in his monograph of Indian erotology is the Dinālāpanikā Śukasaptati or Seventy Discourses of the Parrot, a version of the enormously popular Oriental story of the young King admonished, and kept in the straight and narrow, by an erudite parrot inherited from his father. This is not an erotic textbook, but in the course of the moral tale the parrot, the King, and other personages deliver lectures on all manner of topics, erotology included. Of those quoted by Schmidt, one is a legend about the origin of menstruation and the customs connected with it; another is a dissertation on prostitutes. The most extensive is a spirited list of coital postures, eighty-five by name and fifty-three in detail, which the King rehearses to himself on the way to an assignation (frustrated, unfortunately, by the moral parrot). This is an important source, which I have quoted a good deal, for the more elaborate and acrobatic coital techniques of late Indian erotology. We can identify it, not with the other major traditions, but with the list in a so far untranslated erotic text, the Srngāradīpikā of Harihara (The Lamp of Affection). Schmidt has elsewhere printed the Sranskrit of this in full (ZDMG 57, 705: 1903). Harihara gives the names of the postures only, stopping short after the list, while the King's descriptions most regrettably lapse into unintelligibility and silence with only just over half the names accounted for (a pity, as the rest sound intriguing, and there is no other account of them available). The names are many of them unique, as are the postures they describe, but if anything the tradition is closest to that of the various Śmaradīpikās rather than the Ratirahasya. According to Upadhyaya the list recurs in the Saugandhikaparinaya, with an account of regional variation in the prevalence of the different postures. It would be inter-

esting to know if this list supplies details of the last thirty or so, for which the king's, or the scribe's, memory failed him; the lapse is put down to the fact that the omitted positions are those 'special to the woman', but we know some of them from other sources, and this hardly fits the facts.

'When the twenty-third day dawned, the King went early to the house of the servant, meditating on the way as follows—"I will acquaint the servant's lovely-eyed wife with the arts of coition, eighty-four in number, and enjoy her at pleasure. Now the procedures concerned are as follows: . . . if the lady, in the battle of the God incarnate in hearts, lies smiling, lotus-face upwards, legs laid naturally, with half-closed eyes and the look of a shy gazelle, being aroused to a moderate degree only, this is the position of love which all the world uses, and comes first in love-making. But if in privacy she rides upon the man, looking down on him, and making all manner of affectionate sounds, this is the reverse position. If so doing, she turns about, it is the turn position (bhramana). If, lying on him, she rotates wheel-fashion, turning to face away and then back, laying her hands on him (walking on her hands?) and kissing him all over, this is known to adepts as the wheel (cakra) etc. . . .".'

Dinālāpanikā Śukasaptati is also alone among the texts in including a rhetorical classification of nāyakas as well as nāyikās. Male lovers are usually classed as devoted, courteously unfaithful ('Who still honours and loves his first wife, though he has others'), slippery ('who says hard things behind her back') and the right cad ('unruffled when he is in the wrong, unashamed even when he is struck, and lying even when he has been found out'); and ladies as good, medium ('sometimes angry without

cause') and bad ('always finding fault without cause, even when her lover is devoted'). Dināl̄apanikā classes men, however, as good, medium and bad on quite another system. 'He who bears a thousand insults because, singed with the fire of love, he loves a woman who does not love him, is the least worthy type of lover. He who is devotedly loved, but does not love his humble admirer, is a medium-value lover. He who loves a compliant lady and is loved boundlessly in return, o Prabhāvatī, is the best kind of lover.'

As for the lady:

'She who, though angry when she has cause, once her anger has flown away is devoted to her lover—skilled in the flavours of love, and in all activities, such is accounted the best. She who becomes angry without cause, is hard to smooth down, is sometimes bashful, sometimes not—such is accounted middling. She who is demanding, fickle, tactless in speech and clumsy in action, is reckoned as a ungrateful bargain.'

Much more interesting is the fact that the author of the Discourses shifts the timing of the 'monthly progression' of erogenic zones (see pp. 118–21) from the lunar calendar to the woman's own physiological clock, so that it follows her own menstrual cycle, not an outside astrological influence. 'The lunar influence touches every woman at the time of her purification, moving over limbs from site to site during the next half-month. The thighs, genital, seat of pleasure, navel, right flank, and therewith the armpits, between the breasts, the nipples, the lower neck, the chin, lower lip, ear lobes, forehead, the hair and the fontanelle' (on top of the head—through which the soul escapes at death)—'these are the lunar stations of love.' This, according to Schmidt, leads on to

detailed practical instruction in playing the market according to schedule, with dietary recommendations appropriate to each day. One may reasonably be sceptical about the sequence, but at least it stands a better chance of being linked to hormonal influences than to the activities of the moon.

7. OTHER TEXTS

The Kāmaprabodha of Vyāsya Janardana, the Nagaraśarvasva of Padmaśri (said by some to be a woman and by others a Buddhist monk) and the Ratiratnapradīpikā of Māharāja Devarāja also contain lists of coital techniques, and have been partly translated: I have not managed to get hold of them, but rely for quotation on Professor T. L. Ray's paperback version of the Kokkoka and Ratirahasya, which has some useful comparative tables of contents. They appear, in their present form at least, to be not later than the seventeenth or eighteenth century. The Nagaraśarvasva or Townsman's Compendium is a work of another kind from the treatises, more in the tradition of the Kuttanimata (The Bawd's Breviary) or the Dhūrta-vitasamvāda (The Cad and the Ponce)—dialogue pieces between members of the Indian demimonde which recall the 'Dialogues des Courtisanes' of a later literature. They partly fill the odd gap in all Indian erotology posterior to the Kāma Sūtra left by the omission of any account of prostitutes and their ways—though the Nagaraśarvasva has some valuable comments on petting techniques generally, on the nomenclature of some of the stylized mignardizes, and on coital postures. I have included these in their places as footnotes of the Ratirahasya.

The Nagaraśarvasva is unique combining kisses and sounds under a single head, in a far more elaborate account of tongue-kisses (maraichignage) than any of the other writers, in listing the holds (grahaṇa) used to control a woman during intercourse, and in describing a magical routine of stimulating the different nadis or 'veins' to produce offspring with different qualities. The author also has a section on jewels and the detection of faults in them, which occurs nowhere else. This is the only erotic work we have which is Māhāyana Buddhist in

orientation—the invocation is to Mañjuśri and Tara instead of the Hindu patron deities.

The Ratiratnapradīpikā apparently includes the most complete extant account of oral techniques, eight modes each for man and for woman, but I have not been able to get hold either of the text or a translation.

There is a crop of popular little treatises called The Ratiśastra of Nāgārjuna Siddha, dealing not with erotics but with astrology, prenatal influences, and the like. They contain the kind of magico-sexual and genetical misinformation which was so popular in medieval Europe and is still popular and influential in India today. There are several English versions, and a rather different Sanskrit text with the same title is printed by Schmidt (WZKM **23**, 180; 1909). My copy describes itself as 'translated into sweet English prose verse'. Unlike the other treatises, this is clearly Brahmanical and pseudo-ancient, being in the form of a discourse given by the Lord Śiva Himself to His consort. Some of the matter is ancient in fact, deriving from the ritual and sexual sections of the Brhadārānyaka Upanishad, but with an overlay of very much later astrology. Part of its popularity is that being devoted almost wholly to erroneous statements about prenatal influences and the like, and very little to the actual mise à point of sexual enjoyment, it has run into no trouble with the devout. It dilates on such matters as the evil effects of coitus by day, commending 'the second and third parts of the night; the first and fourth are intended for the study of the śastras and religious books, and other knowledge-increasing literary works'. It classifies women astrologically describing 'the precious bed for the padminī, the beautiful bed for the citrinī, the picturesque bed for the śankhinī, the strong and durable bed

for the hastinī'—the last of these incorporating a provision locker! In view of the continued appetite of Indian readers for such home words, one wishes that a new sage would re-write them in terms of modern knowledge and incorporate accurate contraceptive information. Such forms of public health propaganda have quite serious possibilities. According to Upadhyaya there is one work of this sort, written by Pandit Mathura Prashad in 1949, and called the Ratikelikutuhala—how modern its content is I have no idea, but Upadhyaya's summary hints at the repetition of all the traditional matter. If it is in Sanskrit its influence will hardly be wide. I have also seen a modern (1937) Hindi re-write of the Kokkokam called Kokasāravaidyaka, by Narayan Prashad Misra, which gives about thirty-two bandhas (āsanas) with modern Hindi names.

Such then are the sources. Modern attitudes in Britain owe more to them, and to Sir Richard Burton, than most of us realize. Dare one hope that the next échelon of such literature, with the advantages behind it of science, biology, psychology, experience, and, most important of all, a civilized and guilt-free view of sexuality as pleasure and fulfilment, may come eventually from our own culture? It seems quite possible, if the present weather holds.

THE KOKA SHASTRA
(The Ratirahasya of Kokkoka)

THE KOKA SHASTRA
(The Ratirahasya of Kokkoka)

THE INVOCATION

To him who by his swiftness and his strength made even the Lord Śiva, Victor of the Three Citadels, to become part-male, part-female, though he blasted him with a glance from his single Eye,[1]

Friend of the World, Storehouse of Joys, the fair, the divine, the God presiding over Joy in Existence; the Heart-born—to the God of Love, Praise!

When he rises in the heart as a conquering hero, the bees are his busy servants, the songbirds are his talented poets, the moon is his white umbrella and the wind from Malaya his rutting elephant.

The slender woman is his bow, the jungle creeper his bow-string, and sidelong glances are his quiver. Hail to him!

This work was composed by one Kokkoka, poet, as a

[1] Kāma, or Kandarpa, the love-God, was commissioned by the other Gods to fire his arrow at Śiva, who had retired from the world to practise meditation and austerities, and so recall him to mundane concerns. The arrow caused Śiva to fall in love with his own emanation, Parvatī, and thus to combine the Male Principle, immanence, (purusa) with the Female, activity or manifestation (prakrtī); this union is celebrated symbolically in the maithuna groups. Śiva's first glance of anger blasted the manifest body of Kāma, so that he acquired the title of Ananga, the Bodiless God; the deficiency explains his habit of possessing human beings without warning when he wishes to become manifest.

The extra, cyclopic eye which Śiva wears in his forehead, together with the Trivalī, or three folds, about his neck, are the sole vestiges his mūrtī or image retains of its original phallic character, though the name Linga remains as its normal designation. Once in possession of a human body, Kāma can be eclipsed only by a discharge from the eye of Śiva.

light to satisfy the curiosity of the Most Excellent Vainyadatta concerning the art of love. It is a concentrate made from the true milk of the most admirable Ancient Authorities, rendered down by zealous research to a sweet, precious and youth-giving science, that which invites young girls to the enjoyment of love, and is honoured, even among the gods, before all other studies: let the knowledgeable therefore profit by it and act upon it.

The aim of such a book is to show how the woman who seems unattainable can be won, how when she is won she can be made to love, and how rightly to handle her in intimate matters. For where shall a man find joy—which is, after all, the sole substantial good in a world fugitive as water in a basket, and the capital fulfilment of all desire, equal to our thirst for the knowledge om Ultimate Truth—where shall a benighted man find such joy, other than by being thoroughly grounded in the principles, arts and techniques proper to the God of Love? A man may be young and pleasing to women, but if he is not soundly based in the study of bodily types, of habits, of preferences, of local customs, of instincts, of situations and of gestures, he invariably disgraces himself: of what use, indeed, is a coconut to a monkey?

In what follows I have added, I own, to the teaching of Vātsyāyana some matter which is not his. Now the repute and the credit of Vātsyāyana are worldwide—yet where other authorities have made plain matters which he left obscure, it is profitable for the slow-witted if their comments are included, and such additions come fittingly under the title of 'exposition'. I will give in the first place, therefore, the system of Nandikeśvara and Gonikāputra, then that of Vātsyāyana after it.

I

OF THE PHYSICAL TYPES AND THEIR SEASONS

(The System of Nandikeśvara and Gonikaputra)

THERE are four born types of women—first, the padminī,[1] then the citrinī: thereafter the śankhinī, and finally the hastinī.

The lotus-woman (padminī) is delicate like a lotus bud, her genital odour is of the lotus in flower, and her whole body divinely fragrant. She has eyes like a scared gazelle's, a little red in the corners, and choice breasts[2] that put to shame a pair of beautiful quince-fruits; she has a little

[1] padminī = 'lotus woman', śankhinī = 'chank-shell woman', hastinī = 'elephant woman': citrinī is more difficult to render. The English word which conveys most of the meanings of citra (varied, multi-coloured, special, marvellous, whimsical) is 'fancy'—'fancy woman' has, however, an unfortunate connotation. Another nuance of citra is 'artistic, as of a picture,—citraśala= 'picture gallery'. Lienhard renders citraratā, citramohana, usually taken to mean 'fancy' or special positions of intercourse, as picture-positions, i.e. those figuring in temple art. This seems highly probable, since only certain groups of bandhas, by no means the most complicated, are so described—the only objection is that the sthita or standing postures quoted by the erotic textbooks do not conform in detail to the characteristic postures of the erotic groups, and omit the most popular of them, at least at the three groups of temples (Khajurāho, Konarak, Bhuvaneshwar) which can be studied in photographic reproductions. I have discussed this further in the notes to the chapter on bandhas (p. 147).

Vātsyāyana knows nothing of this (astrological) classification into padminī etc. His own (into mrgī, vādava etc.) is given in the third chapter—from which point the text follows the Kāma Sūtra in its choice of topics.

[2] 'Some say her breasts are the bosses on the forehead of Kāma's elephant: some say they are two golden waterpots: some, that they are two lotus-buds floating on her pool. But I think that when the Love God had conquered the Three Worlds he put his two drums upside down!' (Anon.—from the Śrngāratilaka?).

nose like a til-flower. She is religious, paying honour to brahmins, the gods, and her elders—her body is as attractive as the lotus leaf, and yellow like gold:[1] her queynt like open lotuses. She has the soft, coquettish voice of a king-hamsa-bird. She is dainty; there are three creases in her waist[2]—she prefers bright clothes, her neck and her nose are shapely. Such a woman is a padminī, and of the four types she is reckoned the best.

The 'picture'-woman (citrinī) moves well; she is not too tall nor too short—she has a slender body, prominent breasts and buttocks, the ankles of a crow, prominent lips, a genital odour like honey, and three charming creases about her neck. Her speech is staccato and her voice is like that of a red partridge. She is a skilful dancer and singer. Her queynt is round, plump, soft, quickly wet, and not overhairy. She has roving eyes—she loves the 'outer' forms of lovemaking, is fond of sweet food, and elaborate devices (in coition).[3]

The shell-woman (śankhinī) may be slender or not so slender—she is long, long-fingered and narrow-waisted. She prefers red clothes and red flowers and she is hot-tempered; she does not hold her head erect. The house of the love-God is long, deep-set, very hairy, and her genital odour is acid. In intercourse she wets only when heavily nailmarked, for her love-secretion is scanty. She should be neither very short nor very tall, she is generally of a bilious disposition—her nature is lewd and treacherous, and she has the voice of a wild ass.

The elephant-woman (hastinī) does not move daintily. She has stout feet with curling toes, a short plump neck

[1] 'like a kampaka (champa) flower' (Lienhard),—a sweet-scented, ivory gold flower, borne by a tree (Michelia champaka L.). Apparently some texts read kanaka, Stramonium-flower.

[2] trivalī—the supreme Indian beauty-mark, and a sign of Śiva.

[3] or 'pictures'—see note 1, p. 113.

and red-brown hair. She is apt to be spiteful, is rather corpulent, and her whole body, and more especially her queynt, have the odour of elephant-'tears'. (see p. 116, note.) She likes hot and astringent food, and eats it by second helpings, she has no modesty, her lips are big and pouting: in intercourse she is inordinately difficult to satisfy. Her queynt is downy on the outside and very wide within, and she speaks with a stutter.

The days of the lunar cycle upon which the padminī and the citrinī desire coition are the second, fourth, fifth, sixth, twelfth, tenth and eighth. For the karinī (hastinī) they are the ninth, fifteenth, fourteenth and seventh: the remaining four (second, third, eleventh and thirteenth) belong to the śankhinī. The padminī should be taken in the padmāsana position, the citrinī in the 'townstyle' (nāgaraka: p. 149), the śankhinī by the device known as reed-splitting (venuvidārita), and the hastinī with her two feet on the man's shoulders. To obtain the best results, the citrinī should be enjoyed in the first quarter of the night, the hastinī in the second quarter, or by day. The sankhinī does not become passionate until the third quarter of the night—the padminī is most attractive in the fourth and last.[1,2]

[1] 'The padminī never gets real satisfaction if enjoyed by night—by daylight she opens like a lotus when the sun falls on it, even in converse with a child.' (Ananga Ranga.)

According to the Śrngāradīpikā the locale should also be adjusted to the lady—mountain scenery for the hastinī, greenwood for the citrinī and śankhinī, flowerbeds for the padminī. (Śrngāradīpikā st. 40.)

[2] The later (xvi cent.?) writer of a pocket-version, Jāyadeva, is more chivalrous to the last two types and has different prescriptions for them—

'Eyes like a lotus, with little nostrils, round breasts a little apart, with fine hair, slender body,
Sweet-voiced, sweet-tempered, musical, always beautifully dressed—such is the padminī, and she smells of lotus.
An expert in love, not too tall, not too short, with a pretty nose like a til-flower, a jewel body and lotus eyes.

Spells for the subduing of women

A nutmeg with the juice of plantain subdues the citrinī; the two wings of a turtledove reduced to ash and mixed with honey, the hastinī—Indian quince with sweet incense and tagarī-root subdue the śankhinī in a short while, when administered with betel, the following spells being muttered over it for the three types respectively—

Om! paca paca vihamgama vihamgama Kāmadevāya svāhā (mantra for the citrinī)

With hard breasts that meet each other, a beauty; of pleasant nature and talented—such is the citrinī, and she is wayward. (Citravaktrā: 'changeable, volatile' or perhaps 'pretty as a picture'.)

A tall girl with slant eyes, an admirable beauty, devoted to lovemaking, talented and of good character,

Whose neck is adorned with three folds—such is a śankhinī; a pastmistress, they say, in love-play.

A plump girl—plump lips, plump buttocks, plump queynt, plump-fingered and plump-breasted, kind, a greedy one for love,

Who is strong and loves violent coition—such is a karinī (hastinī) and she is hard to satisfy.

The padminī smells of lotus, the citrinī of fish,

The śankhinī smells sour (ksara), the hastinī of wine (or, elephant-tears)

The padminī comes to pleasure by stroking the breasts, pressing hard her lower lip, and coition in padmāsana,

The citrinī comes to pleasure by the cry of 'sīt', hard kisses on neck and hands and by handling her breasts,

The śankhinī comes to pleasure when man and woman mutually kiss queynt and penis and by passionate coition thereafter,

The hastinī comes to pleasure if one seizes her forcibly by her tether-rope of hair and rubs hard on her queynt with the hand.

(Ratimañjarī)

In the theory of dispositions (sattvas) (see below p. 129) padminī is the type of the goddess, citrinī of the apsaras, or divine nymph—śankhinī of the yaksī (nature-spirit) and hastinī of the raksasa or demon. The 'wine' of which the hastinī smells is almost certainly not wine but the elephant-musk which runs down the face of a rutting elephant. 'Smells like an excited elephant' is hard to English decorously, but 'elephant' as a title for a sister of Boule de Suif is a kāvī-samaya (poetic convention) not uncomplimentary in Indian literature. The śankhinī's odour is 'sharp' or 'salt' (ksāra) in some authorities and 'of milk' (ksīra) in others.

Om! dhari dhari vaśam kari vaśam kari Kāmadevāya svāhā (mantra for the hastinī)

Om! hara hara paca paca Kāmadevāya svāhā (mantra for the śankhinī)[1]

[1] The last two appendicular books of the Ratirahasya, which I have not translated here, contains pages more of this type of prescription—of little interest to the most determined student of folk-medicine, however, for where the recipes are not straightforwardly magical the ingredients cannot now be identified with certainty. The padminī is apparently unensorcellable in Kokkoka's opinion—at least no spell is given here to subdue her.

II

OF THE LUNAR CALENDAR

(Candrakalā)

In the light and in the dark halves of the month,[1] the God of Love adopts successive stations in the body of woman in a progression which begins from the left foot and travels first up, then down. So, in your lady of the Gazelle Eyes, he moves from the toe to the foot, the foot to ankle joints, the ankle to the knee, thence to queynt and pubis, the navel, the breastbone, the armpit, the neck, the cheek, the parts about the teeth, the eye, the face and the head, and so back in reverse order.

For the head, then, lay hold on her hair: upon the eyes and the forehead, kiss her: press her mouth with the lips and teeth: upon the cheeks, kiss her in many ways: on armpits and neck, mark her with the nails: lay hold on her two breasts with the whole hand: between the breasts, strike her: on the navel, slap her lightly with the flat hand: play in her queynt with the finger, the 'elephant-trunk game', and strike on her knees, shins, ankle joints, feet and toes with your own. By following the candrakalā (lunar calendar) and varying the site of your caresses with it, you will see her light up in successive places like a figure cut in moonstone when the moon strikes on it.

The five arrows of the Love-God are supposed to bear the sounds e (for Vishnu) and o (for Brahma), and their targets are heart, breasts, eyes, head and genital. When

[1] This is the usual story: Dinālāpanika-Śukasaptatī more reasonably starts the progression not from the new moon but the end of a menstrual period.

these burning fiery arrows are shot from another's eyes and rain down thickly upon these places, then the love-juice of woman begins to flow.

Such is an abbreviation of the 'calendar' theory as taught by Nandikeśvara. The matter is stated by Gonikā-putra more fully, thus—the resting-places of love are the head, breastbone, left and right hands, the two breasts, the two thighs, the navel, the genital region, forehead, belly, buttocks and back, then in the armpits, lower back and arms.

Starting on the first day of the dark half of the month, the God begins at the lowest point and moves upward; leaving the head on the first day of the light half of the month he comes down again.

The experts of love denote sixteen daily stations in the body of your gazelle-eyed lady, like so many sparks of fire.

On the first day, the lover brings his girl to orgasm by embracing her neck, pressing kisses on her head, pressing both her lips with his tooth-tips, kissing her cheeks, ruffling up her hair, making gentle nailmarks on her back and sides, plucking softly at her buttocks with his nail-tips and softly making the sound sīt.

On the second day, she comes to orgasm if, lovesick from handling her breasts, you kiss the edges of her cheeks and her eyes, pull on her two breasts with your nailtips, suck her lips, tickle her armpits with your nails and embrace her closely.

On the third, you will have her in season by holding her fast, ruffling the hair in her armpits, lightly nail-printing her sides, putting your arms round her neck and savouring her mouth and teeth, and giving the 'click'[1] nailmarks in the region of the breasts.

On the fourth day, lovers reckon to hold a woman

[1] ācchurita—described later.

tighter still, pull the two breasts hard together, bite the lower lip, mark the left thigh with the nails, make the 'click' several times in the armpits and polish the body of Lady Lotus-Eyes with the water that comes from the spring of her own love-juice.

On the fifth day, hold her by the hair with the left hand, bite her two lips, and set her hairs on end with a sinuous nail stroke starting at the nipple—then passionately kiss both breasts.

On the sixth day, bite her lips—when she will begin to tremble all over; start with the 'click' at the navel, then as if drunk with love mark the rounds of both thighs with your nails.

On the seventh day, bring her gently into condition by rubbing the house of the Love-God with the hand, kissing inside her mouth, running the nails around neck, breasts and cheeks, and so preparing the theatre of the Deity for the performance.

On the eighth day, embrace her with an arm round the neck, nailmark her navel, bite her lips, make gooseflesh on the rounds of her breasts and kiss them: press her hard in so doing.

On the ninth day let your hand play with the cup of her navel, bite her lips, pull on her breasts, set a finger in the Love-God's house, and mark her sides with your nails.

On the tenth day, you can wake love by kissing her brow, nailprinting her neck, and running your left hand round her buttocks, breasts, thighs, ears and back.

On the eleventh day, she will come for nailmarks about the neck, tight holding, kisses within her mouth, a sucking kiss on the brow, a few blows over the heart given in jest, and a hand that plays with the lock of the Love-God's prison.

On the twelfth day, with an arm round her neck kiss

both cheeks and open her eyes with your fingers, give the sound sīt, and bite her within the mouth.

On the day of the Love-God (the thirteenth) she will come quickly to orgasm by kissing her cheeks, pulling upon her left breast, and slowly scratching her neck with the fingernails.

On the day of the Love-God's Enemy (Śiva) kiss her eyes, play with your nails in her armpits, thrust your hand elephant-trunk-wise into the strong-room of the Love-God, and over her whole body.

At the New Moon and at the Full Moon, woman becomes passionate if you run your nails over the flat of her shoulders and handle her queynt and her nipples.

III

OF THE PHYSICAL TYPES BY THEIR GENITAL CHARACTERS

(The system according to Vātsyāyana)

ACCORDING as their sexual member is six, nine or twelve finger-breadths in length and circumference, or in depth and diameter, men are divided into hares (śaśa), bullocks (vrsa), stallions (aśva), and women into gazelles (mrgī), mares (vadavā) and elephants (hastinī).

There are three 'even' combinations in sexual intercourse—Gazelle/hare, mare/bullock, and elephant/stallion. Gazelle/bullock and mare/stallion are termed 'high' combinations (uccarata), mare/hare and elephant/bullock are 'low' combinations (nīcarata). The two extremes, 'very high' and 'very low', are gazelle/stallion and hare/elephant. There are accordingly nine categories of coital pair by size. Of these, the even combinations are considered the best; the high and low combinations are moderately satisfactory, the very high and very low are a misfortune. In the 'low' combinations the woman never takes light and fails to get pleasure for lack of sufficient friction between penis and queynt. In the 'high' forms she is frigid and unsatisfied because continual pain and the tenderness of her queynt afflict her heart, and the heart is the essential seat of love.

Desire and its satisfaction in woman

Animalcules generated in the blood set up in the private parts of women an irritation of desire which is little, middling, or great according to the size of the animalcules.

From allaying of this itch by the vigorous thrusting of the penis and the flowing of their love-juice, women experience the need for visrsti, which is the female counterpart of ejaculation. At the outset this sensation is unpleasant and brings them little satisfaction, but at the climax they experience a discharge like that of the man, which renders them practically senseless with pleasure. One moment the woman screams, moans, throws herself about and is distressed—the next she lies motionless and closes her eyes.

The speed of reaching orgasm in man and in woman may be quick, medium or slow: there are therefore nine possible combinations on the basis of time. Both sexes can also be cold, moderately hot, or very hot by temperament, and it is important at the outset for the connoisseur of love to ascertain which—there are nine possible combinations on this basis too. A woman who is strong as a man, who can take plenty of blows and scratches and who actively desires intercourse is likely to be passionate—in a woman of cold temper the reverse is the case, and intermediate characteristics suggest an intermediate disposition.

An even match in all these three characters offers the best of coition—a mismatch in all three the worst of coition, no better than that of beasts. Other combinations give intermediate degrees of pleasure. The very high and very low combinations should be wholly avoided. With these rules I have put the whole matter in brief.

I will now describe the various types (mrgī etc.) and their attributes according to the system of Vātsyāyana.

The physical types of woman

The gazelle (mrgī) has a shapely head, thick curling hair, a slender body with plump buttocks; little nostrils, flashing teeth, beautiful lashes, red lips, rosy hands and feet,

delicate well-proportioned arms, oval ears, cheeks and throat; hips and thighs not overgrown, neat ankles, the swaying gait of a mighty elephant. She is full of desire: her breasts are high—she is tender and easily moved as a stalk of bamboo: of moderately hot temper, greedy for love-making, eats little, has a love-juice that smells of flowers; her fingers are even, her speech slow and tender, her queynt is deep-set and six fingers in breadth and in depth. She is straight-grown and amorous.

The mare (vadavā) holds her head half-bent. She has strong, smooth, supple hair, mobile as a lotus leaf, oval ears, neck and face: prominent teeth, long lips, tight well-filled breasts, very charming plump arms, a slender body and hands soft as lotuses. Her breastbone is broad, she has an attractive staccato speech, is restless with desire; her navel is deep and quite round—she has fine hips, even, smooth thighs, powerful buttocks, a deep-waisted figure, a lazy, rocking gait—pink, well proportioned feet, and a fickle heart. She loves sleep and eating, she is affectionate, her love-juice, which flows readily in intercourse from start to finish, has a pleasant odour like sesame meal and is yellow. She is fit at any moment for the lovestruggle, and has a nine-finger queynt.

The elephant (hastinī) has a broad brow, broad cheeks, ears and nostrils, short plump fingers, feet, arms and thighs, a short, strong, and slightly bent neck, teeth which show, and strong black hair. She is perpetually sick for love-making—her voice is in her throat and deep as an elephant's—her body is strong, she has a broad pendant belly and lips. Her love-juice is abundant; she is red-eyed, quarrelsome, with a genital odour like the 'tears' of a rutting elephant. She commonly has many secret vices, is unusually full of faults, can be won by brute force, and has a twelve-finger queynt, which is the number ascribed to the Sun.

The physical types of man

The hare (śaśa) has big, red eyes, small even teeth, a round face; he dresses well, has well-shaped, soft, pink hands with narow fingers, is well-spoken, volatile in mood, softhaired. His neck is not too long; he is lean about the knees, thighs, hands, genitals and feet. His appetite is small, his manner unassuming, and he is not much given to copulation. He shines with cleanliness, he makes money easily, success inflates him; his seminal fluid has a pleasant odour—he is attractive to women and affectionate.

The bullock (vrsa) has a strong, erect head, a very broad face and brow, a stout neck, fleshy ears, a rounded tortoise-shaped body; he is stout, with deep armpits, long dangling arms, red hands and lips—eyes like a lotus-leaf, red in the corners, which have fine long lashes and stare straight at you. He is spirited, with a swinging free gait, soft-spoken, tough, generous, inclined to sleep long, broadminded; tall but gangling, passionate in coition, capable of repeated orgasm, phlegmatic, well-preserved in middle age, inclined to be over-corpulent, happy with any woman, and having a penis nine fingers long or less.

Stallion (aśva) is the name given to those who have very long, but not lean, faces, ears, neck, lips and feet, fatty armpits, fleshy arms and strong, soft, thick hair. They are violently jealous—they have arched feet, bowed knees, good fingernails, long fingers, large mobile eyes—they are powerfully built but lazy. Their voice is deep and pleasant; they walk fast; their thighs are plump—they are fond of women, talk loudly, are over-endowed with both bony and seminal matter and tormented by lust. Their semen is salt, yellow like fresh butter and very abundant—they have a twelve-finger penis and a bulging breastbone of the same length.

We may also encounter individuals, where the size of

the sexual organs diverges from these standards. These represent very extreme or very poor examples of their type. Mixed types are also encountered, with intermediate attributes. In dealing with these the expert will go by the sum total of characters present.

IV

OF WOMEN BY THEIR AGES, TEMPERAMENTS AND DISPOSITIONS

Of Ages

UNTIL her sixteenth year a girl is called bālā. From sixteen to thirty she is taruni (a young woman), from thirty to fifty she is praudhā (experienced)—from then on she is vrddhā (old).[1]

(A woman who has long been away from her husband is thin, dark, fragile, and lethargic, with deep armpits. A woman who is enjoying regular intercourse is strong, golden-skinned, and shining, with shallow armpits. Admixtures of these characters give an intermediate type.[2])

Now these are the characteristics of each:

A young girl who is not yet mature must be approached by way of the 'outer' forms of lovemaking—a grown woman who is fully relaxed sets her heart on the 'inner' forms.

The girl (bālā) can be won by giving her betel-fruit, promising her elaborate meals, by recounting all manner of wonders to her, by the arts, and by games. The young woman (tarunī) responds to presents of alluring jewellery

[1] Commerce with each age has its effects on the man: 'Sleep with the bālā and get the breath of life; sleep with the tarunī and spend the breath of life: sleep with the praudhā and hasten old age: sleep with the vrddhā and hasten death.' (Ratimañjarī.)

[2] Schmidt's translation continues 'als Eigentumlichkeit jener kennt man folgend' usw. But this seems to belong to the next paragraph and to deal with a new topic, the tastes of experience and inexperience. The bracketed passage is in any event out of place.

—the grown woman (praudhā) loves nothing more than longlasting love-play; the old woman is won by courteous speeches and by stuffing her with promises of marriage.

Of Temperaments

The phlegmatic woman has knees, joints and knuckles which are not prominent, gentle, quiet speech, and is soft as a lotus. A woman with hot limbs and prominent joints is of the bilious temperament: the woman of aerial temperament is barren—her limbs are part-cold, part-hot. The phlegmatic woman is hot, but the bilious has a body as cool as new butter—she is also proud.

The rules for intercourse with these three types (aerial, bilious, phlegmatic) are these: in passion and speed of orgasm they are respectively slow, medium and fast; moist, hot, and deep-queynted; and most ready for coition in the cold of winter, in the rainy season, and in the month Madhu.

The diagnostic signs of these types to be observed in practice are given by the Gunapatākā[1] more fully as follows:

The phlegmatic woman has fine nails, eyes and teeth, is easy-tempered, proud, faithful, and has a cool, plump queynt that is agreeable to the touch.

The bilious woman is by nature flighty, and is intermediate in characters between the other two types. She is light-skinned, with hard breasts and rosy nails and eyes—her sweat is strong-smelling, she is alternately angry and devoted, she loves cool and hates hot weather, she is hot herself, she has a soft queynt, she is wily, competent, and always most tender in intercourse.

The aerial woman is worth least of the three—she is coarse, gadabout, and extremely talkative. Her hair is the

[1] A noted medical treatise, now apparently lost.

colour of slightly-singed wood—she eats a great deal, has a cool body, and hard hairs with definite points to them—she is strong, her nails and eyes are dark-coloured, and her queynt is of the texture of a cow's tongue, rough to the touch.

Intermediates between these types can be recognized by a combination of characters.

Of the sattvās (dispositions)

The goddess type (devasattvā) has a clean, fragrant body, and a serence face. She is rich in money and servants, and very beautiful.

The human type (narasattvā) is of even disposition, versatile, loves entertaining and company, and can fast without losing strength.

The snake-spirit type (nāgasattvā) sighs and yawns a great deal, loves to trail about, is always falling asleep and suddenly becoming active again.

The nature-spirit type (yaksasattvā) has absolutely no respect for dignified persons, likes public gardens and taverns, delights in coition, and is liable to tantrums.

The gandharva (angel)-type (gandharvasattvā) is the title given to a woman with no angry emotions, who wears divine and dazzling clothes. loves garlands, perfumes and incense, is a trained singer and player, and is educated in the sixty-four Arts.

The devil-type (piśācasattvā) is puffed up with pride, eats far too much, has a body which is hot to the touch, and loves red meat and strong drink.

The crow type (kākasattvā) lets her eyes roll in all directions, overeats until she is sick, and is full of unprofitable activity.

A woman with a wandering eye, who loves to use nails and teeth in the love-battle, and is of a fickle disposition, is said to be monkey-minded (vānaraprakrtī); while one

who gives saucy and rude answers, and loves to run loose with men,[1] is the donkey type (kharasāttvikā).[2]

Summary concerning the Types of Woman

Of these various typologies—by size of organs, by age, by constitution, by disposition—that by constitution is sovereign. Karnisūta and other authors have laid down the manner of love-making proper to each. This summary of the matter should be noted:

A pretty girl, of the phlegmatic constitution; a mare- or gazelle-woman; an angel, yaksī, human or goddess-type; a young girl or one in the freshness of youth—this is the ideal for those who desire pleasure in this world.

Of Things by which a Woman may be depraved (strīnāśahetu)

Independence, living too long with parents, taking part in public festivals, over-free behaviour in masculine company: living abroad, having too many man-crazy friends, the collapse of her own love affair, having an old husband, jealousy, and travel—these are the things by which a woman may be ruined.

Of Aversion and its causes (Vairāgyahetu)

Cowardice, lack of stamina, uncleanliness, avarice, ignorance of the right times for love making, grossness, excessive cruelty in love making, refusal to give them ornaments, unjust railing at faults, oppressive sexual tastes, neglect, and meanness inspire in women the greatest

[1] Lienhard's text reads, 'to beat her lover'.

[2] This Thurberesque list by no means exhausts the sattvās; as with the rasas, raginīs and other typologies the rhetoricians delighted in multiplying them indefinitely. The Bhāratīyanātyaśāstra gives twenty-two sattvās, dispositions which are supposed to reflect the residues of a past, animal or other, incarnation—applied to acquaintances they make an admirable party game.

aversion. A woman will neither take note of such a man nor honour his friends and acquaintances. She will resist him, become weary in his company, and be pleased to part from him. If he kisses her she will turn her face away; she will have no wish to receive favours from him, be jealous, refuse to answer when he speaks, resent it when he touches her, and feign sleep when he comes to bed. These are the signs of aversion.

Of Desire

The signs of desire, according to the Gunapatākā, are identical both in women who have already tasted coition and in those who have not.

A girl in love sucks at her lips, her eyes stray about like fish in a river pool, she wears flowers in her hair, binds it up and then lets it down again; her breasts show through her clothes, her buttocks likewise—her girdle keeps slipping[1] however tightly she ties it. All these things serve in a woman to make known that she is in love. If she longs for a man as often as his face, his good looks, his conversation, his virtues and his affection are praised; and if, when he is not present, she delights, in hearing news of his acquaintances and his friends—this too is a sign that she is in love.

The best times for intercourse

Desire for coition is strong in women when they are tired from travel, convalescent from a fever, or weary with dancing; about a month after delivery, and in the sixth month of pregnancy. The most pleasing occasions for

[1] No garment is more fully an extension of its wearer, state of mind and all, than the sari. It can be like sheet metal—or it can simply dissolve. 'When he came to my bed,' writes the poetess Vikatanitambā, 'the knot of my dress untied itself and fell to my hips; checked by my girdle until that too dissolved. So far I clearly remember—but when he put his hand to me, o friend, may I die if I remember any more—of myself, of him, of what he did to me!'

intercourse are said to be at reunion after a long parting, reconciliation after a quarrel, the first intercourse after menstrual purification, and when the lady has been drinking.

At the first love-battle[1] women commonly show only moderate passion and take a long time to reach orgasm—at the second they are more passionate and come more quickly. In men, the reverse is true.

Of the Orgasm, and its Restraint

Men normally attain orgasm more quickly than women. Knowing this, the man must so handle the woman that she is thoroughly moist beforehand.

By knowing the influence of regional preferences, of seasons, and of type, and by regulating the use of the 'outer' embraces accordingly, he can make sure that, being thoroughly aroused and deeply in love, she will wet quickly and be quickly satisfied.

However passionate he may be, a man can remain indefinitely potent if during intercourse he directs his thoughts to rivers, woods, caves, mountains or other pleasant places, and proceeds gently and slowly. If he imagines a particularly nimble monkey swinging on the branch of a tree, he will not ejaculate even though his semen is already at the tip of his penis.

Of the forms of prītī (desire)

A love which arises from an activity,[2] such as hunting, painting, dancing, or vīnā-playing, is called by the learned conditioned love (ābhyāsikī prītī). That which comes neither from an activity nor from circumstances,

[1] sc. the first of a series of unions: not defloration.

[2] The sense might be 'from a shared activity'—i.e. when two music-lovers fall in love, but the original sense is 'love of an activity, and desire for it, acquired by repeated enjoyment of it'.

but arises spontaneously in the heart, like the desire of eunuchs for oral intercourse, or of men and women for kissing and embracing, is called spontaneous (abhimānajā). Love that arises from like-mindedness between lovers is called spiritual (vaisayikī)—it arises from the soul and is accounted the deepest of all.

What we have so far said of personal differences, of bodily type, of age, and of other matters, and what we shall next say of local usages and tastes—all this should be born in mind by the lover when he approaches a girl.

V

OF WOMEN BY CUSTOM AND PLACE

(Deśasātmyam)[1]

The women of the Central Provinces have fine manners, and dislike nail and tooth-marking and kisses; the women of Avanti and Balh also: they like the more advanced kinds of coition.

The woman of Abhīra likes embraces but not nail and tooth-marks; she enjoys erotic blows and her heart can be won by kisses. The Mālava woman has similar tastes.

The woman of Gujarat is a veritable abode of fun, a treasure-house of love—she is kindly-spoken, experienced in intimate devices of all kinds; she has beautiful hair, a slim delicate figure—in love she quivers with excitement, and is world-famous for her wantonness.

(The woman of Gujarat has flowing curls, slim figure, luxuriant breasts, fine eyes, and pleasant speech, loves all inner and outer forms of lovemaking, but not rough handling, and is famous for love.)[2]

[1] Every textbook has a slightly different version of this gazetteer. For example:

'The women of Central India dislike wounds from nails or teeth, but enjoy kisses and love-blows. The women of the Indus region like intercourse from behind and hairpulling, those of Simhala like varied coital postures. The beauties of Maharashtra, Strirajya and Kośala like kisses and embraces, and are specially found of artificial penile aids. The ladies of the Carnatic love bites and scratches, blows, intercourse stark naked, and penile devices, and are greedy for a man's sexual parts. The Dravidian girls like kisses, hairpulling, tongue- and breast-pressing, testes (?), and blows on the body. The ladies of Bengal are particularly fond of varied coital poses, kisses and embraces, love long kisses, have very tender bodies, and are devoted to pilgrimages and processions. The girls of Nepal won't stand blows or rough embraces. . . .' (Smaradīpikā.) How simple, to be able to proceed upon such clear-cut assumptions!

[2] The bracketed passages, taken from Schmidt, are alternative versions.

The women who come from the district of the rivers Iravāti, Indus and Śatadru, between the Vipāś and the Vitastā, and from the Candrabhaga can only be won (or 'brought to orgasm'?) by genital kisses.[1]

The woman of Lāta becomes intensely passionate with gentle love-blows, and the use of nails and teeth—she loves embraces, is very fiery, has very delicate limbs, and dances at the prospect of the pleasure.

The Andhra woman oversteps the bounds of decent behaviour and loves coarse manners—she becomes sick with passion, is an adept at the 'mare's coitus' (vādavaka, le pompoir) and is very gentle.

The women of Strīrāstra and Kośala can be aroused by the use of an artificial penis. They like to be struck hard, and their queynt gives vigorous twitches.

The women of Mahārāstra talk rudely, like peasants, are shameless, and find occasion for all the sixty-four arts of lovemaking. This is equally true of Pātaliputra women: but they are more secretive about it.

The women of Dravida can be excited by persistently stroking them, within and without, in the different forms of 'outer' embrace, but respond slowly. They have a very abundant love-juice and reach complete orgasm in the very first coital embrace.

The Vanivāsa (North of Kerala) women make great fun of physical defects in others, but take pleasure in concealing their own, are of moderate passion, and stand any kind of treatment.

The Lady-of-the-Buttocks from Gauda and Vanga

[1] Lienhard reads 'by intercourse in the inverse position'. Schmidt's MS has unequivocally auparistena. Auparistaka in Vātsyāyana is the genital kiss given to either sex—a gloss in the Ratirahasyadīpikā has 'auparistakam nāma bhagacūsanam'—'au.: that is, kissing the queynt'. Some authorities, e.g. Smaradīpikā, give to the women of Sindh a taste instead for adhomukharatā, coition from behind. Confusion is possible here with mukharatā, soixante-neuf. For the general subject of oral practices see note to p. 136.

(West Bengal) has a dainty, slim body, sweet voice, medium passion, a rapid walk, and no taste for love-battles.

The woman of Kāmarūpa (Assam, Manipur) is as delicate as a mimosa, becomes very passionate, can be excited simply by running the fingers over her, but responds fully only to the Theatre of the Love-God (i.e. to her vulva); she has very pleasant speech.

The woman of Utkala (Orissa) has a powerfully passionate nature, loves tooth and nail-play, and is specially delighted by genital kisses—the girls of Kalinga likewise.

The woman of Kuntala gets the greatest pleasure from all the types of nail-marking, from hard blows, and for the different techniques of genital kiss—she longs for unexampled love-battles, has no inhibitions, and much passion.

(The woman of Andhra is skilled only in the bonds of love,[1] the Cola woman is refined: the Carnatic woman is clever in managing coitus; the woman of Lāta likes the farfetched: the Mālava woman is spiteful, the woman of Mahārāstra knows the Arts thoroughly—the woman of Sūrāstra has gazelle-eyes, the woman of Gujarat speaks nicely and loves artificial devices.[2,3]

[1] premanibandhanaikanipunā: Probably 'skilled only in the bandhas': it could conceivably mean 'skilled in erotic bondage' i.e. ligotage, mekhalā-bandha, binding her lover with her girdle and administering a forced orgasm when he is helpless, as a mock-punishment—as in Raghuvaṁśa xix, 17, and a terracotta from Chandraketugarh (Ind. Archaeol. 1957—8 pl. 73 b, c). This is another universal ingredient of European and American 'albums' which, like flagellation, is missing from Vātsyāyana. In India, as in Italy, it is the perquisite of the woman to be the fiercer in applying it—the Italian tag runs

'In the battle of Love
You bind her like flowers
But she binds you like a traitor':

in Chinese and Islamic erotology the aggressor is usually the man. One Indian version has 'clever at tying love-spells'.

[2] penile devices, apadravyas, are presumably meant. See p. 159, note.

[3] This account is obviously composite and sometimes inconsistent—possibly the different versions reflect tastes in different periods: owing to the sanctity of

This is the teaching of the Sage (Vātsyāyana) concerning local usages. A young girl from a strange part of the country should be studied accordingly: her inborn in-

tradition, addition is the only kind of correction which a pandit would permit himself. The attribution of regional taste for orogenital contacts is inconsistent, as in most Indian erotic texts. Under cūsana, genital kisses given by man to woman are attributed along with axillary kisses to the inhabitants of Lāta, from the Kāma-Sūtra on. Vātsyāyana devotes a section to orogenital intercourse (auparistaka)—fellation is a technique practised by feminized eunuchs, prostitutes and homosexual friends-some pandits condemn it, while others hold that 'three mouths are pure, the calf's while it suckles, the dog's when he hunts, and the woman's when she makes love'. Of the converse, from man to woman, and the mutual genital kiss (kākila, mukharatā) he says, 'for love of this, certain whores will abandon the company of upright, virtuous and noble men of munificence, and take up with servants, base-born individuals, elephant-drivers and the like'. The Kandarpacūdāmani, the rhymed-up version of Vātsyāyana, expresses King Vīrabhadra's disapproval of the practice, and includes it only out of fidelity to the Master: 'for in editing another man's book one is bound, though in writing one's own book, one may do as one wishes'. Kokkoka, as we shall see, neatly side-steps the question. The late erotic writers are less condemnatory; Smaradīpikā including mukharatā as a bandha, and Ratimañjarī giving it as the normal preparatory technique for a śankhinī. The general ambivalence, regional attribution, upper-class and Brahminic disapproval but widespread practice, closely resemble the conflict of attitudes in European 'overt' and folk-cultures. All forms of orogenital contact are meanwhile celebrated with enthusiasm in temple sculptures, especially those thought to represent temple prostitutes, as at Konarak—often in a peculiar suspended position, with the man standing and the woman inverted. This emphasis almost certainly reflects the Taoist-Tantric theory of the absorption of virtue from Woman, the 'medicine of the Three Mountains', (tongue, breast and vulva), of Chinese alchemy (van Gulik, 1961. This whole theory might, indeed, be taken as a manifestation of regressive orality). The reason that this idea does not figure in the erotic texts is that their matter probably antedates its appearance in Indian. Vātsyāyana's own final word exhibits a rational tolerance unlike anything in Western literature before the advent of modern sexual psychology—he concludes that the matter is analogous to the eating of dog-meat; not a vice, but not everyone's choice—'accordingly, when you have taken the regional custom, the age, the general usage, the literature and yourself into account, you will decide which of these opinions you will obey, and which not. Since tastes differ and the matter is private, who can lay down who shall do which, and with what, and to whom?' The late authors take these techniques as a matter of course—the Kokkokam reinstates seven modes of auparistaka by the woman from Vātsyāyana, with the recommendation that the member 'should be shaven, perfumed and neighbour to a seemly pouch', the Ratiratnapradīpikā (vi, 39—53) gives several modes of kiss to be given by the man to the woman.

clinations can be found only from experience—where the two conflict, personal taste is more important than local custom.[1]

When you have considered this discrepancy between individual preference and local custom, and also somatotype, speed of reaching orgasm, degree of response, age-group, and constitutional type, you can proceed accordingly—first to the appropriate 'outer' and then to the 'inner' forms of lovemaking. Begin with the 'outer' forms —the first of these is the embrace (ālingana). Here it is necessary to distinguish two types—one for use before love-play has begun, and the other for use when it is established. There are twelve manners of embracing, which we will next describe.

[1] This is in fact Vātsyāyana's teaching. Some texts of the Ratirahasya reverse the priorities (custom overrides personal inclination). Lienhard's version gives both opinions consecutively.

VI

OF EMBRACES

(Alingana)

It is time now to describe the 'outer' modes of love-making, beginning with embraces, of which we recognize two classes—depending upon whether the game of love has already begun or no—and in all twelve manners.

When a man meets a woman on some other errand, and contrives in so doing to touch her body, this is the embrace by touching (sprstaka).

If they walk together at a procession, or in the dark, and their bodies touch for a considerable time, this is the embrace by rubbing (udghrstaka). If one presses the other against a wall, it becomes the embrace by pressing (pīditaka).

If She-of-the-Buttocks[1] contrives to cling to, or encompass, the man with her two breasts, while he sits or stands, so that their eyes meet, and he takes hold of her, it is the clinging[2] embrace (viddhakājya).

For two that have not yet declared their love, there are thus four embraces by which they can make known their mind; for those who have shared love-pleasure already, the ancients have recognized eight embraces by which desire may be quickened.

When the slender woman mimics the wanton tendril of a climbing plant and lassoos her lover, as a liana

[1] nitambinī, a kāvī-samaya or Homeric epithet: the nāyikā is callipygic, as Athene was owl-eyed, ex officio.

[2] Most authorities have 'piercing, boring', 'Clinging' is Lienhard's suggestion—it makes better sense if his alternative derivation holds.

entangles a tree, making softly the sound 'sīt', giving little cries of love, and pulling down his face for a kiss, this is the liana embrace (latāvestitaka).[1]

If with sighs she stands with one foot on her lover's foot, puts the other on his hip, one arm round his waist and the other round his shoulder, so that when he kisses her she climbs as if climbing into a tree, the Founder of our subject called this the tree-climbing embrace (vrksādhirūdha).[2]

These two manners are for use when standing—the following embraces are for lovers lying together. When the couple embrace crossing arms and thighs as if in an equal struggle, the game leads on to the 'inner' forms of lovemaking, and they lie together motionless, body to body, the Founder of our subject called this the 'sesame-and-rice' embrace (tilandulaka).

When the woman lies in her lover's lap or on the bed, with her face turned to his, giving him sweet and close embraces; and both press body to body heedlessly, in a storm of passion, this is the embrace known as 'milk-and-water' (ksīranīra).

When the husband has well set the stage of the love God and tightly claps the thighs of his aroused wife between his own thighs, this is called by experts the thigh embrace (ūrūpaghūhana).

When the woman let fly her hair and her clothes, presses her genital to his thighs and climbs over him to give him kisses, nail and toothmarks, this the Founder of the subject called the pubic embrace (jaghanopagūhana).

If in her passion she presses hard into the breast of her

[1] The Ratimañjarī gives this as a bandha, but makes the man enlace the woman, presumably lying down. The standing embrace appears as a bandha in the Khajurāho friezes.

[2] 'Lovers risen from bed seek to have their mistress' soft arms round their neck, and the soles of her feet placed on top of their own feet—this is a special kind of kissing at dawn.' (Vasanta Vilāsa.)

lover, letting him feel the weight of her own breasts, it is the breast embrace (stanālingana).

When the couple set mouth to mouth, eye to eye, so that their breastbones strike together, this is the sternal embrace (lālātikā).

VII

OF KISSES

(Cūsana)

THE sites prescribed for kisses are the eyes, the neck and cheeks, the gums and within the mouth, the breasts and the space between the breasts. In Latā the people also have the habit, according to their custom, of giving passionate kisses on the genitals, the region below the navel, and the armpits.

The formal kiss (nimitaka) is that given when a woman is made by force to set her lips to a man's, but remains looking straight in front of her.

The suction kiss (sphuritaka) is that in which she makes a bud of her lower lip as if she would take hold of her husband's lower lip and pull it, but does not pull it.

The thrusting kiss (ghattitaka) is when she takes her husband's lips and holds them gently with hers, covers his eyes with her hand, and thrusts her tongue a little way into his mouth.

When the man, from below, takes her chin and shakes her face a little from side to side while each sucks upon the lower lip of the other, it is the wandering kiss (bhrānta).

The crosswise kiss (tiryak) is a form of this, in which she is kissed in profile from the side. Both the foregoing are called pressure kisses (pīditaka) when the lower lips is held with pressure—the man opens her lips with his tongue, holds her lower lip with two fingers and presses it with his teeth only so hard as to give her pleasure.

When in kissing the man bites the upper lips, this is the

upper lip kiss (uttarostha). When in a kiss given by husband to wife, or wife to husband if he be cleanshaven, both lips of one are taken and pressed between both lips of the other, it is the closed kiss (samputa). This becomes tonguewrestling (jihvāyuddha—maraichignage)[1] when their two tongues meet and struggle with each other.

(As for kisses other than on the mouth), upon any of the prescribed places they can be light, medium, pressing, or heavy.

When the husband comes home late and kisses the woman sleeping, or pretending to sleep, these are the two varieties of the awakening kiss.

Another manner of kiss is the picture-kiss, given by proxy to a portrait, a mirror, etc. This is proper to man or woman, and is used to declare a new love.

Embracing a child or a statue as indications of desire are examples of the transferred kiss (samkranta).

[1] Padmaśri (Nagaraśarvasva) gives also three special tongue kisses—the needle (suci) when it is inserted pointwise in the woman's mouth, pratāta when it is broadened inside like a leaf, and kari, when it is made to quiver. Unlike any of the other writers he classes kisses as voiced and unvoiced, the voiced variety corresponding to the sītkrta (love cries) of other writers.

VIII

OF LOVE-MARKS[1]

(Nakhacchedya)

On the armpits, the arms, the thighs, the pubic region, the breasts and neck, a couple of fiery disposition will make nailmarks. Nailmarks are also made by less passionate couples, especially at first coitus, when making up a quarrel, after menstruation, when they have been drinking, or when they are about to be separated (by a journey or some other cause). The nails of passionate lovers should have large, strong tips; they should be allowed to grow but not to become dirty—they are pliant, shining, and free from ridges or cracks.[2]

A light touch on the cheek or between the breasts, given with all five nails, enough to leave a faint line and set the hairs on end, is called ācchurita (the click) from the sound cata-cata produced as the fingernails strike the thumbnail.

A curved line (ardhacandra, ardhendu) is the half-moon; two of these drawn face to face were called by the chief authority (Vātsyāyana) the circle (mandalaka), and he prescribes its use on the upper pubic region, the hollows of the loins, and the thighs. A definite scratch two or three thumb-breadths long is the line (rekhā).

The peacock-foot (mayūrapadaka) is made by putting

[1] 'The "dot" on your lip, the "necklace" on your neck, the "hare-jump" on your breast—one may see, O beauty, that your lover knows the literature of the flower-arrowed God!' (Ksemendra.)

[2] 'The finest such nails are found among the Gauda people (Bengali), who do not scratch, but only touch with them. The southerners, who scratch really hard, have short, strong nails which will stand up to such use' (Yaśodhara).

the thumbnail below the nipple, the fingers above, and drawing them together to meet at the areola. The hare-jump (śaśaplutaka) is made by catching the breast around the nipple with all five nails together. A scratch on the breast or the girdle-path (strip which the girdle covers) is called from its shape the lotus-leaf (utpalapattraka). Three or four deep scratches on the pubic region or the breasts are prescribed by the experts before parting on foreign travel, as a keepsake.[1]

Of Tooth-marking (Daśanacchedya)

Teeth should be polished, sharp-edged, neither too large nor too small, or good colour, even, and without gaps between them. They may be applied to all the sites prescribed for kisses, except the inside of the mouth and the eye.

The hidden bite (gūdhaka) is a small red mark, especially on the lower lip. The swollen bite (ucchūnaka) is made by pressure, on the lip or the left cheek. A longer pressure in these places produces what is called 'stone against coral' (pravālamani).

The dot (bindu) is a small round wound, the size of a sesame grain, made on the lip with two teeth only. When a mark is made by all the teeth it is called the necklace, or row of dots, and is an ornament for the armpit, between the breasts, the neck, or the groins (bindumālā).

A mark like a irregular circle made on the soft part of the breasts with all the teeth is called the broken cloud

[1] 'When a woman sees such a mark on an intimate part of her body, an old love suddenly becomes new. . . . Such marks must never be made on another man's betrothed, however. Special marks as keepsakes or to heighten passion should only be made on covered parts of the body' (Vātsyāyana)—usually the 'girdle-patw' or under the arm, in Temple sculpture. On the visible parts 'the sight of such marks worn by a beautiful young girl make even a complete stranger wishful' (Kandarpacūdāmani). Nail and toothmarks play a large part in the dénoument of Indian stories—often made on a leaf, a flower, or a letter and sent as aphrodisiacs by proxy.

(khandābhraka). A long deep double-row of prints with a dark-red bruise between them, proper to the convexity of the breasts, is the boar-mark (varāhacarvitaka).[1]

[1] 'If, when he cannot get his own way, the man bites or scratches her, she should not suffer it, but should pay him back double—for the Dot a proper reply is the Necklace, for the Necklace the Broken Cloud. She should fight back, and pretend to be enraged. If he takes her by the hair she should fix her mouth to his when he offers it, hold him tightly, and as if drunken with love bite him here and there. If he rests his head on her breasts and offers his neck, she should give him the Necklace, and the other marks she knows.

'Next day she will smile in secret when she sees her lover publicly wearing the marks which she has made, but she will frown and scold him when he makes her show the marks upon herself.

'Two people who are so embarrassed by their mutual passion will not see their love decay, even in a hundred years!' Vātsyāyana, Kāma Sūtra 5, 12.

IX

OF COITION AND THE VARIOUS COITAL POSTURES

(Bandhas)

The Preparation

THE proficient lover receives in a brightly-lit room filled with flowers; incense is burning; he wears his most handsome clothes, and has all his retinue present. He sets his lady, adorned with all her jewels, on his left, and begins a lively conversation with her. Presently he puts his left arm gently round her—he keeps contriving to touch the edge of her dress, her hands, her breasts and her girdle; he starts singing her cheerful songs. When he sees that her desire is awakening, he sends the rest of the company away. He begins to kiss her repeatedly on the forehead, chin, cheeks and the tip of her nose—he presses her gums and tongue with his own, making the sound 'sīt' continually, and implants the 'click' (ācchurita) nailmark on the area just below the navel, on her breasts, and on her thighs, and loosens her girdle as soon as she gains confidence, taking care that she has no chance to lose the boldness she has gained. If she shows displeasure, he kisses the lobes of her ears, presses the tip of his penis against the house of the Love God, puts his mouth to hers, holds her tightly round the body with both his arms, and finally plays the game of groping in her queynt with his hands.

Description of the Queynt

In woman the house of the Love God is of four kinds—smooth within like a lotus: covered with small

knots: or rugose: or rough like a cow's tongue. Each of these is softer and responds more quickly than the next.

The vulva contains a tube shaped to the penis, which is the swing in which the Love-God rides. Opened with two fingers, it causes the love-juice to flow—this tube and the sunshade of the Love God (vagina and clitoris) are the two organs characteristic of Woman. The Sunshade of the Love God is a nose-shaped organ placed just above the entrance of the God's dwelling, and full of the veins which secrete the juice of love. Not far from it, within the vulva, is a duct pūrnacandrā (full moon), which is filled with this juice (Bartholin's duct?). There is also another vascular area (the vestibule?): when these three zones are rubbed with the finger, the woman is brought into condition.

From among various names varieties of such finger-play,[1] I will mention only the following: that of the Elephant's Trunk, that of the Snake-coil, the half-moon (ardhendu[2]) and the goad of Kāma (Madanankhusa).

[1] According to the Kokkokam, these are:
karikara—with the second, third and fourth fingers, keeping the thumb and index closed
kāmayudha—with the middle and little fingers joined to the thumb
kāmausadha—with the middle and little, joined in the shape of a crescent moon
madanankhusa—with ring and middle fingers
manmathapātaka—with middle and little fingers
stotra—little finger only.
Avoidance of the index finger as too heavy is a piece of advice which no Western text on marriage counselling seems to have discovered. The Indian lover normally uses more than one finger at a time, keeping the tips together. Padmaśri gives a different series: karana (index finger only), kanaka (index behind middle finger), vikana (middle behind index), pataka (both together, extended), triśula (index, middle and ring, trident-wise). These are apparently for vaginal rather than external stimulation.

[2] With the curved finger, 'insertion, in a fully-experienced woman, of a finger in the vulva' (atipraudhastrīyonyanguliyojanam) Sabdakalpadruma.

The conduct of intercourse

A difficult girl can be roused by strongly stimulating the anterior blood-vessel[1] with the thumb and finger for as long as is necessary. When the kingdom of the Love God has been fully prepared by the help of nail and tooth-marks, kisses, embraces and fingerplay, one can proceed to the use of the penis.

The methods of sexual intercourse

When he has given the 'outer' embraces in the approved manner and sees that his wife is inflamed, the husband will penetrate her with a weapon which should be commensurate to her parts.

By lying with the thighs together, a wide queynt can be made tighter—if it is too tight, by lying with her thighs wide apart she can open it. For a 'low' connection (nīcarata) she must in taking her pleasure close a queynt that is too large—for the 'high' form (ūccarata) she needs to widen it, and for an even connection (samarata) she will let it be.

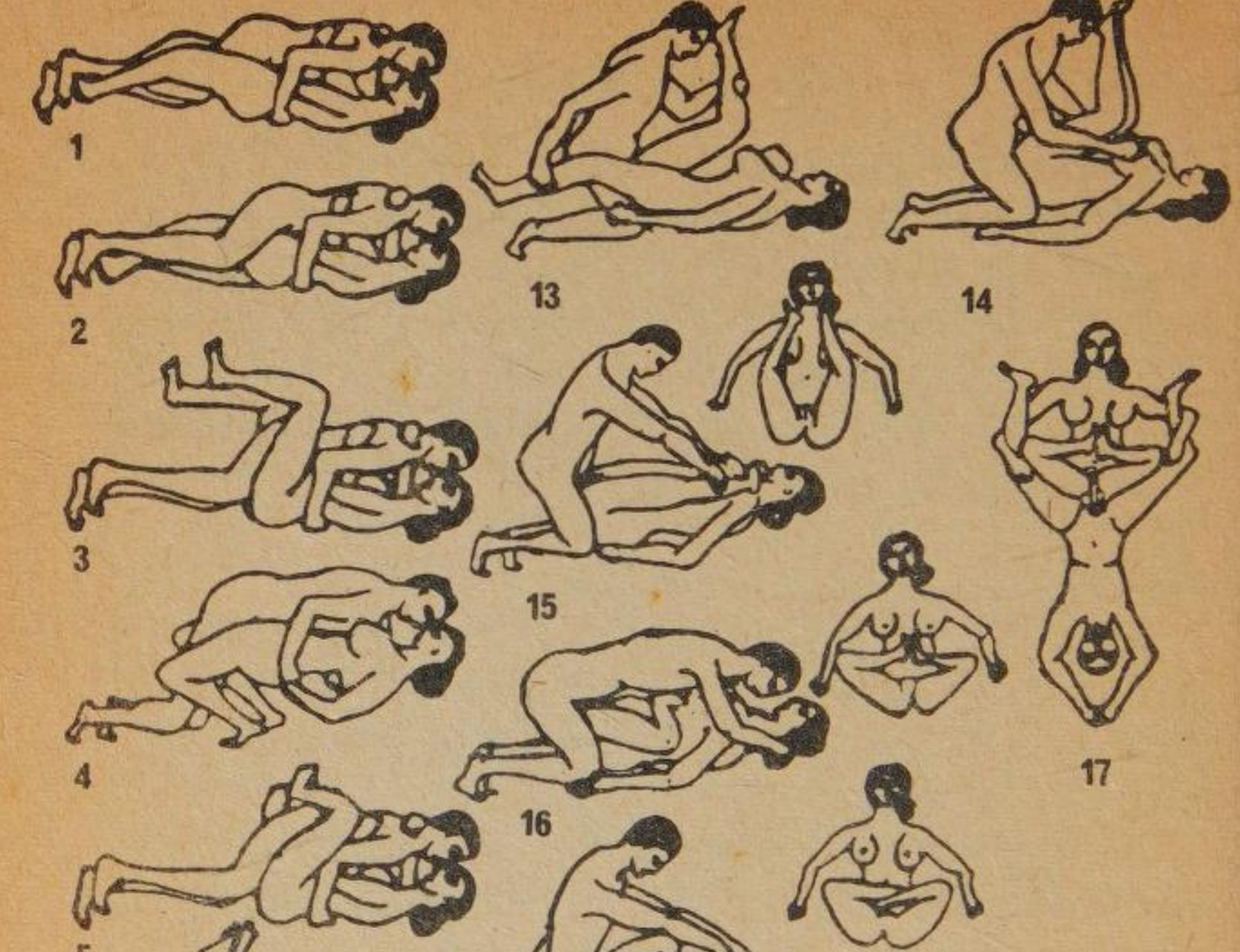
The sage Vātsyāyana has designated five manners of carnal copulation, namely supine (uttānaka), lateral (tiryak), seated (āsitaka), standing (sthita) and prone (ānata). I will now recount in full the various forms of these. Of the many uttānaka-bandhas two are prescribed for samarata, three for ūccarata, and four for nīcarata; but for these the Sage made no rule.

If the woman lies on her back with the man upon her, both her legs being between his thighs, it is the country manner (grāmya), and the town manner (nāgaraka) if her legs are outside his.[2] (Weckerle, I, variants.)

[1] The vestibule, not the clitoris.

[2] 'If the woman locks her thighs around her lover, this is ratipaśa (the noose of Ratī), much loved by passionate women.' (Smaradīpikā.) (Weckerle 1, VI.)

In Weckerle's system, all the different postures derived from the 'usual' face to face position by leg raising, leg crossing, etc., are treated as variants. These distinctions make up a large number of the Indian bandhas—in view of the striking differences in sensation between them, the Indian view here



Uttānaka—(Frontal)

1 nāgaraka R (the town manner)
2 grāmya R (the country manner)
3 jrmbhitaka R (the yawning)
4 utphullaka R (the flowering)
5 ratipāśa S (the love-noose)
6 indrānīka R (the lock (?))
7 bhugnaka R (udbhugnaka AR) (the curved)
8 urahsphutana R (sphutīta AR, kaminīpriya S) (the chest splitting)
9 samapāda AR (the even-footed)
10 venuvidārita R (reed-splitting)
11 ardhanapīdita R (venika AR) (the half-compressed)
12 viparitāka S (the inverse)
13 śulacita R (the spearthrust)
14 ratisundara S (Rati the Fair)
15 utkantha Rmj (the throat trick)
16 karkataka R (the crab)
17 vrścika DS (the scorpion)
18 padmāsana R (the lotus seat)
19 ardhapadmāsana R (upapāda AR) (the half lotus)

THE COMMON BANDHAS

R = Ratirahasya AR = Ananga-Ranga P = Pancasāyaka S = Smaradīpikā
Rmj = Ratimanjarī DS = Dināpanikā-Śukasaptati

If she rests her buttocks on her hands, raising her queynt, and puts her heels outside her hips, while her lover holds her by the two breasts, it is utphullaka (the open flower).

If she raises both legs obliquely, spreading her queynt wide to let him in, it is called jrmbhitaka (gaping).

If she sets his legs equally to her sides, while grasping his sides with her knees, this device, to be learned only by practice, is called Indra's wife[1] (Indrānīka). (Weckerle 3.)

If both in coition keep their legs extended, it is samputaka[2] (the box), of which there are two forms according as the woman lies on her back or on her side.

If further she presses her extended thighs tightly together it is pīditaka (the squeeze) and if she crosses them, vestitaka (the clasp).[3]

If the man remains still, and she 'swallows' the penis with the lips of her queynt, it is the mare's coitus (vādavaka).

If she presses her thighs tightly together, raises them and embraces them firmly, it is bhugnaka (the curved), and if she places her two soles to his chest it becomes urahspnutana (chest-splitting)—if one foot is extended, it is termed 'the half-squeeze' (ardhanapīdita). (Weckerle, I, variants.)

If both the woman's legs are laid on the man's shoulders, it is the jrmbhitaka manner.[4] (Weckerle I, XII). If

appears the more practical. Flanquette and cuissade positions (half-front and half-back postures with one partner astride a single leg of the other) do not seem to figure in the classical Sanskrit canon at all, though they are common in Orissan picture-books, and must surely have been as much used in India as by European lovers today.

[1] Or 'the lock'—according to Yaśodhara, Indra is the god of locks and puzzles: Indrānīka = Herculeus nodus.

[2] In the version given by the Smaradīpikā the man kneels.

[3] Lienhard has 'alternately crosses and opens'.

[4] In other textbooks, this form of it is called samapāda, kākapada, (crow-foot) or nāgapāda (elephant-foot). 'It is to be used with a taruni' (Pañcasāyaka).

one leg is kept down and extended it is the outstretched manner (sārita); (Weckerle, I, XI) this, if carried out with frequent alternation of the legs, becomes the celebrated 'reedsplitting' (venuvidārita) (venudāritaka). If one leg is kept down and the other foot placed on the man's head it is the spearthrust[1] (śūlacitaka).

If putting her soles together the woman lays both feet to the man's navel it is the crab (kārkataka).

If in the same position she thrusts violently with her feet it is the swing (prenkha).

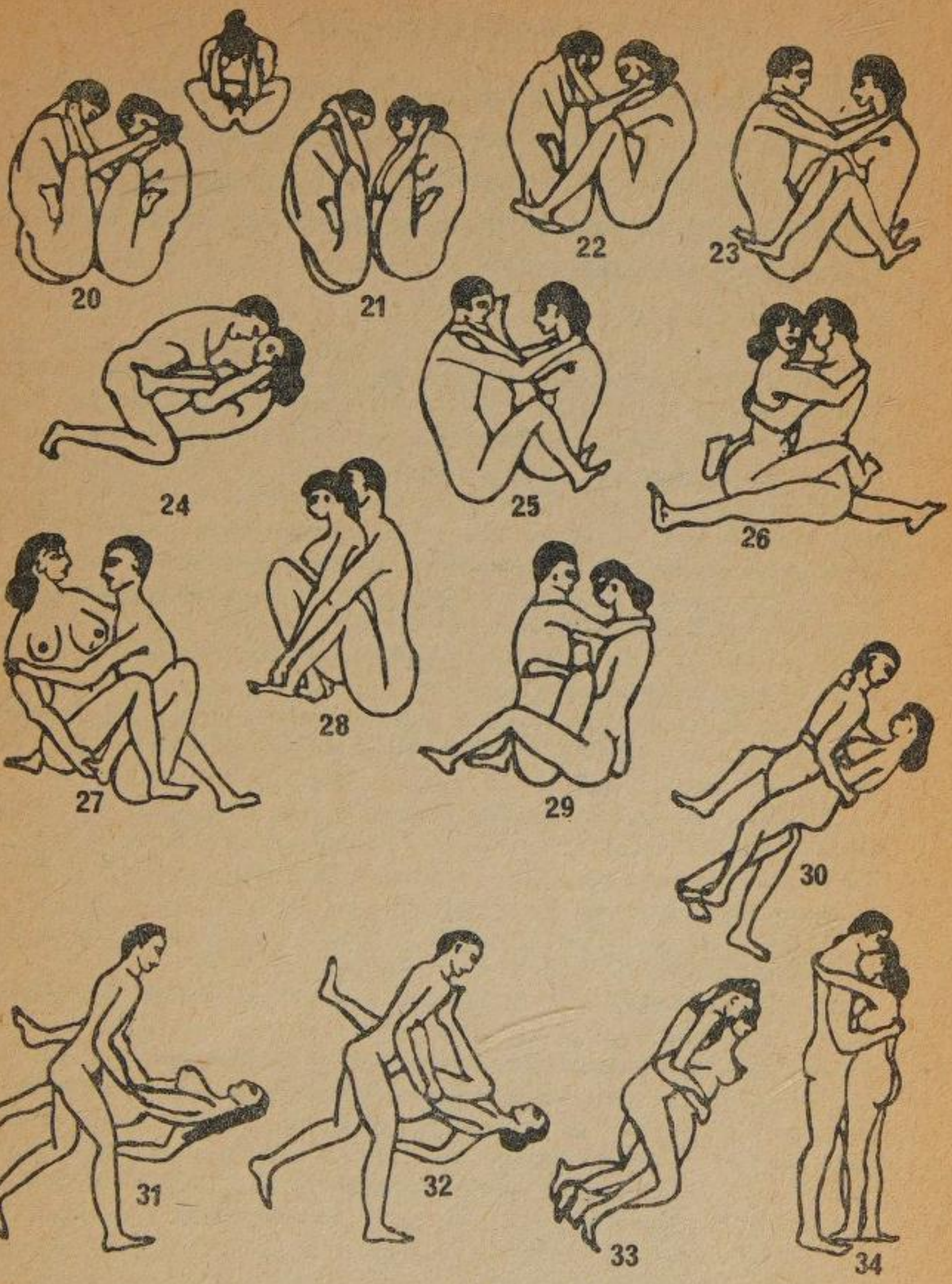
If she lays each foot on the opposite thigh, it is padmāsana (the lotus seat) or the half-lotus (ardhapadmāsana) if only one foot is crossed.

If she passes her arms under her knees and round her neck, and her lover then holds her tightly about the neck, passing his arms between hers, it is known to experts as the cobra-noose (phanipāśa).

If the girl lays her fingers to her big toes and the man, slipping his arms under her knees, clasps her round the neck, it is the trussed position (samyamana).

[1] He is 'impaled', as seen from behind, her extended leg being the spearhaft, and the point, her other foot, coming out at the top of his head.

There are several more of these closely-similar semi-lateral or foot-raising positions; another name for the ardhanapīditabandha is venika ('the man puts one of the woman's feet to his breast, the other on the bed—this position should be used with a praudhā Ananga Ranga) it is also called upavītaka (Pañcasāyaka): other related positions are viparītaka (one foot held by the man, the other on his shoulder—Smaradīpikā) and ekapāda (one foot held by the man, the other on the ground, while she holds him around the neck). In Smaradīpikā this is to be performed lying down—in Dinālāpanikā-Śukasaptati it is a standing position. 'If the man stands on his own feet, and holds up both the woman's feet, it is Kuliśa (the thunderbolt)' Smaradīpikā. Traivīkrama (the tripod) is given in Ananga Ranga as another name for śulacitaka: in the Pañcasāyaka it is a different, semi-standing position—'the man stands on his own feet, places one foot of the woman on the ground, and raises the other in his hand, while she rests her hands on te ground', i.e. in a backward-bent hand-stand on one foot and two hands, a much more difficult matter (Weckerle 238). The Nāgarāśarvasva has a hanupadabandha in which the woman's feet are raised to her chin—in Ratimañjari this is called utkantha, the throat position.



Asitaka—(Sitting)
20 phanipāśa R (the snake noose)
21 bandhurita AR (the bound)
22 ratināga Rmj (the love-snake)
23 kaurma R (the tortoise)
24 samyamana R (? keyura S) (the trussed)
25 pīdítaka R (the compressed)
26 yugmapada R (the two-footed)
27 vimarditaka R (the friction)
28 mārkataka R (the monkey)
29 kāmasundara S (Kamā the Fair)

Tiryak—(Lying, oblique)
30 samudga R (the chest)
31 parivartanaka R (?) (the turn-away)
32 upavītaka P (?)
33 nāga P (the snake)
34 sarpa DS (vyāyataka AR) (the serpent)

If he then takes her setting mouth to mouth, arm to arm and leg to leg it is the tortoise (Kaurma).

If finally she raises her thighs, keeping them tightly together, and he presses them with (between) his feet, it is (a form of) pīditaka.[1]

[1] The eight 'advanced' positions in this section appear to be based on hatha-yoga gymnastics. The account of the tortoise (kaurma) position presents some difficulties: these more complicated bandhas do not figure in Vātsyāyana. Kaurma is here given as a lying (uttāna) bandha—in all other textbooks it is classed as upavista (seated). The simplest interpretation is that (Ar. El modakhali) shown in some Indian pictures on the Konarak wheels, and in Temple reliefs, which accords with the definition, 'mouth to mouth, arm on arm, leg on leg' (Weckerle 99). But the basic position for the phanipāśaka bandha is the quite different hatha-yoga posture known as the tortoise (uttāna-kaūrmakāsana): in this, the arms are passed through the knees and round the neck, but with the legs crossed in padmāsana.

Ananga Ranga and Kāmaprabodha give three related postures, all upavista:

(1) bhandurita ('bound'); in which both partners pass arms through knees and around their own necks.

(2) phanipāśa—unclear, but they apparently pass arms round each others' necks. Lienhard's text of the Ratirahasya gives this version as the phanipasā(ka); the Smaradīpikā has a nāgapāśaka-bandha in which 'the man (only) passes his arms through his knees and round the girl's neck'.

(3) kaurmaka—described as 'mouth to mouth, arm on arm, leg on leg: this becomes parivartita if the woman raises her legs erect'.

Dinālāpanikā-Śukasaptati, to simplify matters yet further, has another kūrma (ghanakūrmabandha) or 'close' tortoise-position 'when the man pûts both feet to the girl's breasts and both her feet on his shoulders, and they hold hands'—in effect a 'closed' and sitting version of the more familiar European position in which, starting with the woman sitting astride, both partners lie back until they are flat, pubis to pubis, with the man's feet to the woman's breasts and her feet on his shoulders (Weckerle 6, 12). This in turn is closer to what D.-Ś. terms devabandha (the god's position), where each places feet to the other's freast and they lean apart holding hands, but is also related to the Ratirahasya's kaurma.

The names of bandhas, beside being inconsistent, do not always indicate any connection with yogic āsanas of the same name. In Din.-Ś. there is a kukkutabandha involving the difficult āsana of that name (the man lies on his back, the woman sits upon him in padmāsana, then supports herself on her two hands, passed through her folded thighs, like the feet of a cock—and the hamsalīlākabandha requires the woman to lie in dhanurāsana, but the mayura (peacock) and mātsya- (fish) bandhas have no connection with similarly-named yogic āsanas, the first being the name of a dance step and the second describing the look of the bandha.

These are the frontal positions (uttānaratas). I now proceed to the tiryak (lateral) positions.

If the man's thighs are placed between the woman's, this was called by the sages samudga (the chest) (Weckerle 8), and if in the course of it either partner turns away from the other (a trick which requires practice) it is parivartanaka (the turn-away).[1] (Weckerle, 10?)

Seated positions (āsitaka-bandhas). If man and woman sit facing each other, each with one leg extended and the other drawn up, it is the two-footed position (yugmapāda).[2]

If the man sits between the forearms[3] of a beautiful woman and takes her by repeatedly shaking his thighs, it is the friction (vimarditaka) position (Weckerle, 108), which becomes mārkatika (the monkey position) if she faces the opposite way.[4] (Weckerle, 118.)

These are the regular forms of copulation. I will now deal separately with the 'picture' positions (citramohana).

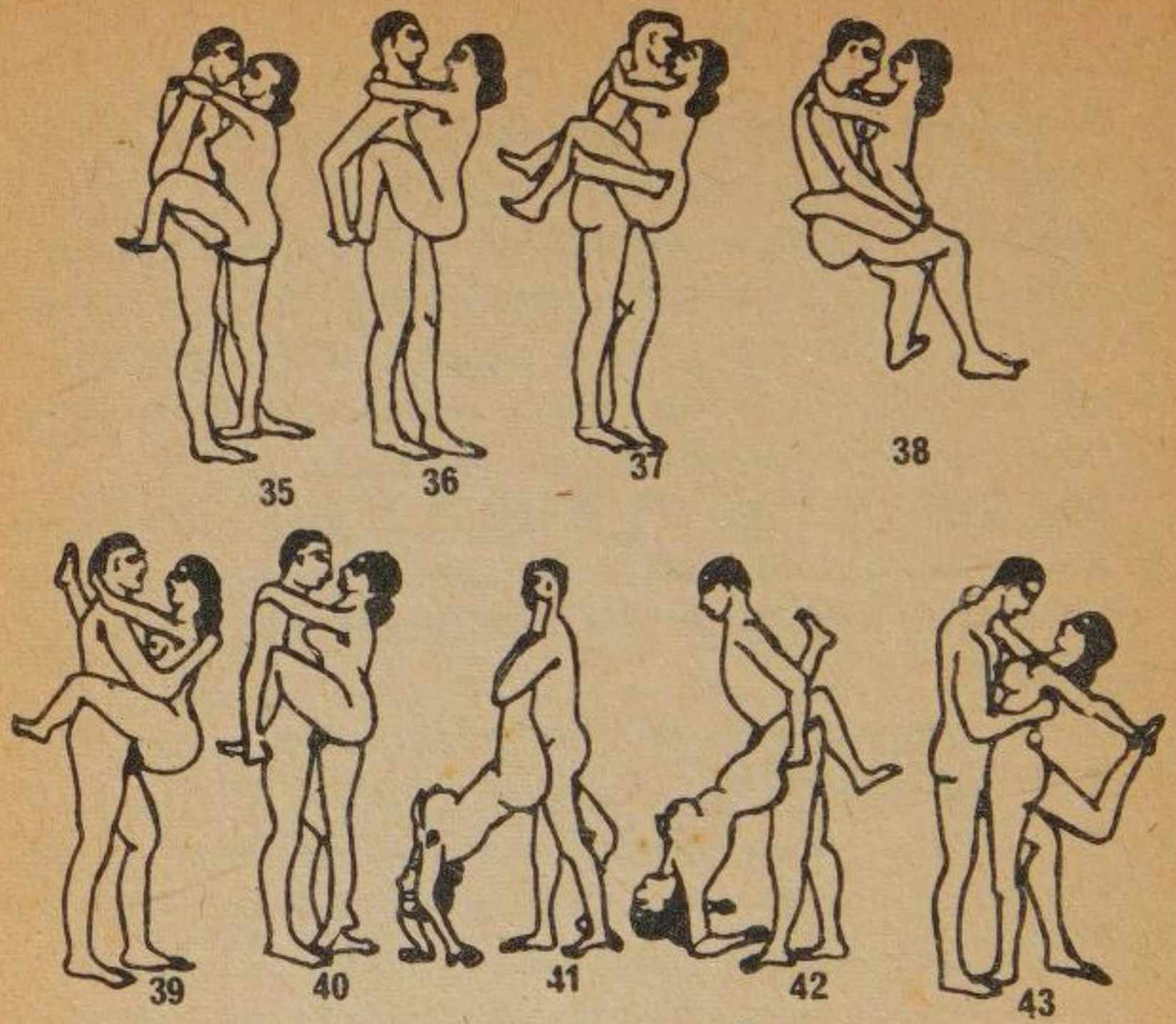
When a couple stand up, leaning for support against a wall, a pillar or a tree (sthīta—standing—positions) there are four modes of proceeding. If the man passes his

[1] The commentary to the Kāma Sūtra has 'if she embraces his back while he turns the upper part of his body away after intromission in the preceding position.

[2] Each extends the same (R or L) leg, and locks the other behind the partner's back (Ratirahasyapīdikā).

[3] Forearms' Schmidt—'knees' Lienhard's text. The sense is almost unaffected—see next note.

[4] She sits or kneels astride his lap—he leans back on his hands with his legs extended and raises himself off the ground (Weckerle 118). The most popular sitting position (with the woman astride, legs about the waist), the sitting-form of the avalambitaka-bandha which follows, called in Ananga Ranga kirtī, the glory (Ar. Dok El-arz) is missing here, but occurs in the Konarak wheel-decorations, and in Nāgaraśarvasva, where it is called lalitabandha. Far more remarkable than the inclusion of unusual positions is the exclusion of such common ones. The absence of all the flanquette and cuissade positions has already been noted. Sedentary averse positions occur in sculpture and pictures but, among texts, only in the Din.-Śukasaptati.



Sthīta—(Standing, supported)
35 tripāda P (the three-footed)
36 dvitala R (the two-heeled)
37 jānukūrpara R (the knee-elbow)
38 avalambita R (prālambaka S, kīrtī AR) (the half-suspended)
39 harivikrama R (Hari's step)
40 ekapāda DS (the one-footed)
41 traivikrama S (the tripod)
42 kuliśa (the thunderbolt)
43 māyūra DS (the peacock)
Adhomukha—(ānata)—(Rear)
44 dhenuka R (the cow)
45 aibha R (the elephant)
46 svastika DS (the interlocking)
47 padma DS (the lotus)

arms under the girl's knees and raises her for penetration, while she puts her arms round his neck, it is the knee-elbow position (janūkūrpura) the name being compounded of 'knee' and 'elbow'. (Weckerle, 235, 212.)

If (only) one leg[1] is raised it is Hari's step (harivīkrama).

If she places her two soles in his two hands while he leans back for support against the wall, it is the two-sole position (dvitala). (Weckerle, 234.)

If she sits in his hands with her arms round his neck and her legs round his waist, moving herself by putting the toes of one foot against the wall, throwing herself about, crying out and gasping continually, this is the suspended position (avalambitaka).[2] (Weckerle, 211.)

[1] Or possibly 'if (from the last position) she raises one leg vertically'—i.e. one leg over his arm, the other pointing straight up. It is to be preferred for a taruni says Ananga Ranga. The reference is to the Strides of Vishnu (Hari) when He encompassed the Universe. He is usually shown standing on one foot and raising the other above his head.

[2] Ar. Dok El-outed. Sthita-bandhas, probably for reasons of design, are by far the commonest citraratā or 'picture-positions' in Temple art. Most coital representations of true maithunas are of this kind in Indian (though not in Nepalese) temples, the exceptions being semi-standing vyānata positions—other postures occur chiefly in the orgiastic friezes of Kaula-inspired temples, which are not strictly maithunas, or square panels like those of Konarak and the Brahmeśvara temple at Bhubaneswar, as well as the Konarak wheel bosses. These include both āsitaka and averse positions not described in the erotic texts.

It is odd, nevertheless, that the detailed accounts of citraratā in the erotic textbooks miss out a great many of the commonest sculptural bandhas. The divergences cannot be arbitrary, because the omitted postures recur perpetually in different temples. It is not possible from the textbooks to name the common bandhas in iconography as one can name mūdras or āsanas. In fact the postures in the orgiastic friezes (if we exclude oral activities, about which all the books are reticent, and static tours-de-force like the mystical bandha which has displaced the Deity from the centrepiece of the Khajurāho friezes) are much easier to identify in the erotic Masters than those of the maithunas proper. Possibly this is a matter of date—or the textbooks may have been influenced and modified by being used as guides to secular coital practice. The differences would be unremarkable if it were not for the zeal with which Hindu art usually adheres to specification: secular poets were heavily censured by commentators for describing lovers' embraces which did not square with the

In the vyānata positions, the woman goes down on all four, like an animal, and her lover entering from behind puts his weight on her like a bull.

If she puts her palms on the ground, tucks in her head and moves slowly forward when he has mounted her, while he remains upright, bull-fashion, it is called the cow (dhenuka). [Arabic: el houri] (Weckerle, 111.)

In the elephant position (aibha) he holds his penis in his hand and leaps her, like a bull elephant, while she lays her brow, face and breasts to the ground and raises her buttocks.[1] (Weckerle, 110.)

There are other modes of copulation described which imitate the dog, the gazelle, and the camel.[2]

Plural intercourse (samghātaka)

If one man has connection at once with two women, whose thighs are laid opposite ways,[3] or a passionate girl enjoys two lovers at once, this is called plural intercourse.

There is yet another manner of it by which one woman

rules of Classical erotology. One favourite maithuna position (a sthita-yugmapāda-bandha—it does not appear to have a name) is difficult, but neither this nor the other variants can have been excluded from the textbooks on practical grounds, in view of what is already included. The most likely reason that the matter of the textbooks predates both Mahāyana and Tāntrik sexual mysticism—they contain no reference either to spiritual virtues obtained from coition, or to the principal tenet of these mystics, the conservation of the semen and the absorption of virtue from the woman. The Tantrik picture positions may well be part of the armamentarium of avoiding ejaculation, and many are apparently, like film kisses, designed to be seen rather than felt.

[1] She should also alternately draw up and extend her legs, according to Dināpanikā-Śukasaptati, which gives all the other (little-differing) animal-bandhas in full.

[2] Nāgaraśarvasvra has vyaghravaskanda, the tiger-spring—the woman lies on her face holding her ankles behind her (dhanurāsana) and the man kneels, raising her thighs on to his knees and holding her waist. The name is due to the 'broken-backed appearance of a quadruped seized in mid-spine by a tiger'.

[3] 'One with the linga, the other with the finger or tongue' (Kāñcīnātha). Chinese texts give postures of this kind for alternate vaginal penetration of four women.

may enjoy four men,[1] or one man four women. This is accomplished by giving nail and toothmarks and by genital contact, using hands, feet, mouth, and linga simultaneously.

These are the rules, then, for managing the 'picture' positions.

Some books[2] have given special names to the different manners of moving the penis in the vagina (churning, pressing, the boar-thrust, and so on) but these I have omitted as unprofitable. The pressing, striking or rubbing of the queynt can be conducted in three ways—from above, centrally, or from below. If the Lady-of-the-Buttocks proves insatiable, then her lover may hold a lingam in his hand.[3]

[1] Vātsyāyana explains that this is 'the custom in Strīrājya, Grāmanāri and Balh, where several young men have a single wife in common'.

[2] These 'other books' include the Kāma Sutra itself. Vātsyāyna has a section devoted to male movements (purusopasrptaka) as follows (so also Rati-ratna-pradīpikā):

'Straightforward penetration is called upasrptaka. If the man takes his penis in his hand and gives it a rotary movement, this is mundhana (churning). If he lowers his pubis and strikes upward, it is the stab (hula)—the reverse stroke from above downward, to be given very forcibly, is the rub (avamardana). If he penetrates deeply and maintains a long, steady, forward pressure it is pīditaka (the pressure stroke). If he withdraws a long way and then returns with a sharp thrust it is nirghata (the gust). A powerful stroke given to one side is vāharaghata (the boar-stroke)—the same on each side successively is the ox stroke (vrsaghata), (i.e. with two horns.) Three or four sharp strokes with no withdrawal between them is the sparrow game (chatakavilasita). Finally the 'box' (samputa) is the action which is called "the end of lust' ".

Samputa as a bhanda has already been explained. Yaśodhara says that 'the end of lust' means 'a way of holding back orgasm', but as it is soon to be quoted here as the best way for the man to finish intercourse after the woman has achieved orgasm in purusāyita, Kokkoka seems to be interpreting it as 'the finishing position'.

In these movements the man leads and the woman follows. Movements in which she leads (strīpasrptaka) are used in the purusāyita mode—bhrāmara, prenkolita, described in the next paragraph—to which Vātsyāyana adds samdamsa ('the clamp'), which is a version of what Kokkoka calls vadavaka, le pompoir or mare's coitus, carried out with the internal muscles and without moving the thighs.

[3] Presumably an artificial phallus (apadravya). Yaśodhara drily explains the

The signs of satisfaction in woman

When the girl begins to close her eyes, her lover should clasp her more tightly. Limpness, eye-closing and swooning are the signs of enjoyment.[1] She will move her queynt repeatedly, give the sound sīt, lose all shyness and be beside herself with love—this is the point at which her feeling is most intense.

The signs of dissatisfaction by contrast are these—she threshes her arms about, strikes out, will not let go of the man, and suddenly throws herself upon him.

Inverse position (purusāyrita)[2]

When the whim takes her, or when her lover is tired, the woman can carry out intercourse after the male fashion. She will act the man's part, either from the start of intercourse or by turning him over after intromission has taken place.[3]

inclusion of metal-work and lathe-turning among the subsidiary arts prescribed in the Kāma Sūtra for a liberal feminine education by the need to manufacture these. The devices described by Vātsyāyana include both dildoes and penile prostheses (rings, sheaths and erection-maintainers similar to the modern Japanese kabutogata). They were to be used in satisfying very demanding women, in the 'high' mode of coitus to remedy disproportion, and by kings with obligations to a numerous harem in excess of their physical powers—they were also locally popular in certain districts. Under the same head Vātsyāyana mentions the various forms of ampallang and the piercing of the glans to accommodate them, a custom now practically confined to Malays and Kayans.

[1] 'Listen, friend, to a story about my fool of a lover. When I shut my eyes in the final ecstasy, he thought I was dead, took fright, and let go of me!' (Kuttanī-mata.)

'With horripilation on her breasts, crushed now in a strong embrace; with the cloth on her fair buttocks wet with her glutinous love-juice, babbling piteously "No, no, darling—that's enough!" is she asleep, or dead, or has she vanished into my heart?' (Vasanta Vilāsa.)

[2] literally, 'masculine'.

[3] The variants here are not bandhas but rather movements. The corresponding obverse position, depicted at Konarak and in a terracotta from Chandraketugarh (Ind. Archael. 1957—8, pl. 73c), with the woman astride facing the man's feet, seems to be missing from Indian literary erotology, though the mārkatika (given above) is similar. Dinālāpanikā Sukasaptati gives other

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Purusāyita—(Lady above)
48 purusāyita R (viparīta) (the male)
49 hamsalīlaka DS (the swan)
50 dolita DS (the swing)
51 ghattita DS (the closed)
52 udghattita DS (the open)
53 mātsya DS (the fish)
54 kukkuta DS (the cock)

If when astride him she bends her legs and makes a rotary movement it is bhramara[1] (the wheel)—if she moves from side to side it is prenkholita (the swing) made up from prenkha and ūlita. She strikes[2] him and cries sīt; she laughs and says boldly, 'Now, you coward, I've got you down and it is I who will make you die. Hide yourself, haven't I shamed your pride?' So striking him continually, her bracelets jingling, her hair falling on his lips, and her thighs shuttling back and forth in an ecstasy, she will cease only with her climax. When the man sees that she is tiring, he will turn her over and finish in the 'box' (samputa) position. If she is still not satisfied, he

purusāyita positions; kukkuta (see note, p. 141) mātsya (fish) ('the man lies outspread—the woman lies on him closely with her feet on his two legs and her breasts pressed to his chest'), hamsa (in which the man sits half-erect on the woman's joined feet, dolita (swing) in which he draws his feet up to his chest, and she lies with her belly on his soles, being lifted and swung on them, 'while they both hold hands and she pretends to be frightened'. The other positions are obscure, but in one (jvālāmukha) he lies on the ground, his feet raised by placing them on the edge of the bed, while she stands astride him—he then uses a flower (the 'sportive lotus', lilakāmala) to caress her in the sites normally reserved for kisses. If in the normal purusāyita position 'he sits up and kisses the tips of her breasts it is ghattita (the closure) and if he lies back while she raises his heels in her hands it is udghattita (the opening)'.

Smaradīpīka gives two positions only: 'If the woman lies flat on the man's two thighs, holds her feet (behind her back) with both hands, and vigorously moves her hips, this hamsalīlaka (the duck or swan game). If she sits astride the penis with both soles on the ground and her hands over her breasts, it is the play-seat (līlāsana).'

[1] Probably she moves her pelvis only—Ar. El loulabi, the Archimedean screw; Dinālāpanikā-Śukasaptati has a more energetic 'wheel' position (Cakrabandha) in which she turns on the penis as an axle, lying face down on the supine man, and working round with her hands. Rotary positions of this sort figure in both Chinese and European erotic gymnastics—for several others see Weckerle 52, 150, 182, 199, 206, 333, 372, 386, 413, 453, 490—they are rewarding and not very difficult.

[2] 'strikes', 'striking'—tadanam: this probably refers to prahanana since it is linked with sītkrta, but the word is usual for the movements of intercourse—'tups', 'knocks'.

Ananga Kanga gives four strokes to be used by the woman—with the fist on the chest (santanita) with the flat of the hand (pataka), with the thumb only (bindumala), and with the angle of the thumb and forefinger (kundala), the last being especially excitant.

should perform angulīrata, finger-intercourse. A woman who has just finished a menstrual period,[1] or who has lately borne her first child, should not use the viparīta (purusayīta) position, and it is said that a pregnant woman, a harinī (mrgī) and one who is fat, or very slim, or a young girl, should avoid it.

[1] The risk is that she will conceive in this position and the fetus will not know whether to adopt a male or a female role (Yaśodhara). The mrgī may injure the man—the others run the risk of injuring themselves.

X

OF LOVE-BLOWS AND LOVE-CRIES

(Prahanana and Sītkrta)

The Striking of Blows (Prahanana)

It has been said that 'love is a tussle, in which both are blinded by passion': it is not surprising then that the striking of blows has a part to play in it, as does the uttering of cries.

Love-blows (prahanana) are struck with the palm, the back of the hand, the clenched hand, or the whole hand outspread—on the back, the sides, the pubic region, between the breasts, and on the head, which are the stations of love.

Love-cries (Sītkrta)[1]

The sound Him, a sound like thunder, the sounds sūt, dūt, phūt; gasps, moans and cries of 'Stop!', 'Harder!', 'Go on!', 'Don't kill me!' and 'No!', have the generic name of sītkrta. Little shrieks which variously resemble the cry of the heron, dove, (Indian)[2] cuckoo, hamsa, and peacock can be evoked by love-blows, but are described by

[1] 'Stīt'-crying: this sound is the most characteristic response to an erotic touch, a gasp in through nearly-closed teeth. The 'thunder' sound is a shuddering expiratory gasp. The others speak for themselves. Ratiratnapradīpikā classes these sounds by the affect they indicate, a highly important practical point, as showing 'pain, helplessness or submission, desire, aggression'. Some ladies cry 'Mother!', as Vātsyāyana reminds us—the wife of 'The Leopard' in di Lampedusa's novel used to disconcert him by screaming, 'Gesumaria!' at the critical moment. This is a subject to be pursued, now that the tape-recorder permits emotion to be recollected in tranquillity.

[2] kokila—the koel, Eudynamys scolopacea. The voice is a series of bubbling feminine whoops, rising in pitch as the song continues.

the experts of carnal copulation as being heard at other times too.[1] The sound Him represents a sudden expulsion of breath from the nose and throat. The thundering (shuddering) sound is made in the same way, and resembles the collision of stormclouds. The sound dūt is like the snapping of a hollow stalk—the sound phūt is like a berry dropping into a jar of water.

The usage of love-blows and love-cries

According to the teaching, striking with the back of the hand between the breasts evokes the moaning sound; the back should be struck with the knuckles, and the head with the hand bent into the shape of a cobra's hood, while blows on the sides and genital are given with the flat of the hand.[2] 'The shears', and other types of striking which are used in the South are reprobated by the Master.[3]

[1] 'Sītkrta is perfectly in order even when no blows are struck' (Ratirahasya dīpikā). In America, one can now buy a long-playing record of these attractive sounds—they appear to have changed very little. Indian literature often refers to them, and to the competence with which birds, especially parrots and mynahs, which learn best in the dark, can imitate them—thus obtaining an embarrassing party piece.

[2] 'Striking is of four kinds—with the hollow hand, the back of the hand, the fist, and the flat of the hand, four manners. The sites for it are as follows—with the flat on sides and genital, with the fist on the back, further on the head and face with the hollowed hand held like a snake-hood, and over the heart with the back of the hand. If the woman is hurt and hits her man with the fist on his chest, this is termed by the adepts samtānika; if in intercourse she slaps him with the flat palm it is pataka; a blow with the thumb only is bindu (the dot). If the woman in excessive passion strikes slowly with thumb and middle finger together (? pinching) it is kundala (the ornament)' (Ananga Ranga).

[3] The 'shears', 'wedge', 'needle' etc. are mudras or hand-positions used in striking. They are described by Yaśodhara, being quoted for condemnation by Vātsyāyana, together with a number of accidents due to their use: 'In Southern girls one can see the mark left on the breast by the "wedge" . . . this is a barbarous practice, however, and should be abandoned, says Vātsyāyana. It is also dangerous. With the "wedge" the King of Kola accidentally killed the hetaira Citrasenā during love-play. The Kuntala Sātakarni killed Queen Malayavatī in the same way, with the "shears", while Naradeva, who had a paralysed hand, put out the eye of a dancing-girl by misaiming a blow with the "needle".' (Kāma Sūtra.)

With the girl sitting on his knee, the lover should strike her on the back with one fist. She will pretend to be angry and retaliate, screaming, gasping, and becoming drunken with love. Towards the end of intercourse he will strike very gently and continuously over the heart of the girl while she is still penetrated, and at each stroke she will give the cry of sīt. If she tussles with him he will strike on her head with the curved hand, and in response she will give the sounds of kāt and phūt and will gasp or moan. Just before orgasm he will strike quickly-repeated blows with the flat of the hand on her genital and her sides. If her passion begins to wane the Lady-of-the-Buttocks will utter cries like those of the quail or the hamsa. After her climax she may again scream or gasp repeatedly. At other times, too, a woman will utter love cries that make her infinitely desirable, without being either in pain or weary of intercourse.

Passion and roughness in copulation, combined with tenderness, usually make only the man attractive, but according to local and other customs a short exchange of roles, from passion, can be delightful.

When a spirited horse reaches a full gallop it takes no

An odd result of this passage is that the Burton-Arbuthnot translation, on the ground that such dangerous results could hardly follow finger-blows, assumed that the names must refer to carpenters' tools, and heads the passage, 'Striking with Instruments'. Yaśodhara makes the matter quite clear. 'At the start of intercourse, the King of Cola embraced Citrasenā so violently that, being most tender and delicate of body, she was crushed. Knowing this, he nonetheless, in the blindness of passion, struck the fragile one a violent blow with the "wedge" on her breast, without knowing how hard he struck, and so killed her.' Śātakarni was so inflamed by the sight of the Queen in her holiday dress when she went to her first festival after a long illness that he forgot her dangerous state of health. Sudden death after violent blows on the chest, even if given with the joined tips of the thumb and two fingers, seems perfectly plausible in these two cases. The reputedly immoderate and sadistic tastes of Southerners are a general topic of condemnation in Sanskrit erotics, but the idea of 'instruments' being used to strike love-blows appears to be a straightforward blunder. The Kokkokam, as might be expected, omits this aspersion for Tamil readers, and reads instead 'but the oversexed women of Pandya are hard nuts to crack—one can pound on their breasts with stone balls and still get nowhere'.

heed of obstacles: so two lovers in the struggle of love take no heed for blows, knocks or Death itself. But it is the duty of the man to consider the tastes of women, and to be tough or tender entirely in conformity to his beloved's wishes.[1]

Oral intercourse

The Sage (Vātsyāyana) has dealt fully with this matter. To his account who would be so rash as to add anything?[2]

[1] Vātsyāyana has a section on the end of intercourse which is worth including for its own sake, as a tailpiece to this section:

'When both are satisfied, they will suddenly become embarrassed—they will go separately to wash without looking at each other, as if they were strangers. When they come back, they will have lost their embarrassment—they will sit down again as before, side by side, and take betel, and he will rub sandalwood or sweet oil on her skin. Putting his left arm round her he should hold the cup for her to drink, while they converse pleasantly together. They will take water, sherbet, or whatever else their fancy and habit chooses—fruit-juice, soups, sour-rice broth; roast meats, mango, dried meat, and lemon juice with sugar, according to the custom of the district: he will taste the dishes and tell her which are sweet, which are mild, and which are plain. Or they will go and sit on the roof in the moonlight, and he will hold a suitable discourse with her. If she lies in his lap looking up at the moon, he will tell her names of the constellations and show her the Southern Cross, the Pole Star, and the crown of seven stars in the Great Bear. This is the manner of concluding sexual intercourse.' (Kāma Sūtra.)

[2] For the contentious matter so expertly avoided here, see note to p. 137. To the stylized mignrardizes given by Kokkoka (nailmarks, toothmarks, blows and cries) the Ananga-Ranga adds hair-pulling (keśagrāha) 'to be done very slowly', to heighten passion and draw the beloved's face to the lover for kissing. So also Pañcasāyaka. The Smaradīpikā adds mardana (which includes both pressing and the tickling erotic massage known in France as 'les pattes d'araignée') 'on both arms, both breasts, vulva and navel, six sites in all' and nectar-drinking (rasapāna) 'at breasts, lips, mouth, tongue and nipples, five sites in all'. Outside erotic textbooks we also find madhupāla, drinking from the same cup.

According to the Nāgaraśarvasva, the varieties of pressure (mardanam) are adipitam (squeezing with the whole hand), sprstakam (touching with the palms), kampitakam (repeated quick pressure in the same place), and samakrama (repeated squeezing of different places). The varieties of holds (grahamā) are baddha-mustī (in the closed fist), vestitakam (twining the hair), krtagranthika (interknotting the fingers), and samakrsti (pinching).

To these manipulations some of the poets add shampooing or massage of the woman's body to prevent stiffness after acrobatic intercourse.

'Five things require kneading (mardana) to bring out the goodness—curds, betel, cotton-fibre, sugarcane, woman's breasts.' (Proverb.)

XI

THE WOOING OF A BRIDE

(Kanyāvisrambhanam)

Choosing a Bride

RESPECTABLE men, who follow the Threefold Aim in life, should marry, say the śāstras, a woman of their own social standing who has never been previously betrothed. Honourable persons will always avoid marriage, association, games, friendship and the like with persons of higher or lower position.

The rules for wooing are these: the ideal bride, to be preferred above all others, is one with a skin like a lotus-petal, or yellowish-tinted like gold, with a delicate flush to her hands, feet, nails, and eyes, well-proportioned soft feet—who eats little, sleeps little, has on her hands the marks of the Lotus, the Pitcher, and the Discus (attributes of Vishnu). She must not be red-haired, or have a pendulous belly or a hanging lip.

Wily men who know the rules will avoid any girl they find out of her house, weeping or yawning, or asleep. A girl called after a mountain, a tree, a river, or a bird: one who is over- or undersized, is bent or bony, has a hanging lip, hollow or red eyes, hands and feet which are rough to the touch; one who sighs, laughs or cries at meals; one who has inverted nipples, or a beard, or unequal breasts; who is dwarfish, who has flap-ears like winnowing fans, bad teeth, a harsh voice, spindle legs, or is scrawny; one who likes going about with male hangers-on; one who has hair on her hands, sides, chest, back, legs or upper lip; who makes the ground shake when she passes, or gets a

crease on her cheeks when she laughs; one whose great toe is too small in proportion to the other toes, whose middle toe touches the great toe, or whose two smallest toes fail to touch the ground—all these are to be avoided in choosing a bride.

Of the Wedding Night

The bridegroom should not approach his bride on the wedding night—otherwise she will become bored during the next three nights when she has to sit and keep watch. For three days he preserves continence, and does not attempt anything presumptuously until he has first won her heart. Women's bodies are as soft as flowers—they dislike embraces which are inflicted on them by people who have not yet won their intimate regard. The wooer will first show his love for his bride through the offices of her friends, and progress slowly with her as he wins her confidence. If she is a virgin and has never been alone with him, he should operate, say the rules, in complete darkness. When the girl is at ease with him, he will very briefly embrace her with the upper half of his body. He will pass some betel from his mouth to hers, tell her he loves her, speak kindly to her, kneel to her, and adopt other such measures to please her. He can then give her a pure, tender kiss, and play gentle games with her. As if unintentionally he asks her some simple question—if she does not answer, he asks, 'Do I please you, sweetheart?' She will motion with her head, not answer with words. As her confidence increases little by little, she will hide her face and smile while the bridesmaid whispers in her ear what the bridegroom told her in private—'He said such and such, and this is what he said of the joy that he has in you . . .' she will say, including a good many lies of her own. If the bridesmaid is waggish and overplays her hand, the groom should say playfully and not over-

distinctly, 'I never said anything of the kind!' When she gains confidence further the bride will ask for betel or flowers, and he will give them to her, or lay them in her lap. Then he should touch the buds of her nipples with the tips of his fingers, slide his hand down to her pubis and take it away again. If she stops him, he takes his hand away and says, 'I won't do it again if you'll put your arms round me.'[1] Once he has contrived by treating her very gently to get her sitting on his knee, he will frighten her out of her wits by saying, 'I'll bite and scratch your pretty face, and I'll mark myself all over and say you did it, and make you ashamed before all your friends.' Then he kisses her all over, and as her bashfulness is conquered by dandling and handling he unties her girdle. Having introduced his penis in the approved manner he amuses her until the last dark traces of fear are removed by his gentle exertions. This road to the deep and lasting affection of young maidens I have learned from my studies of the Kāma Sūtra, and I tell it to you.

The art of winning

Neither too much compliance, nor too little—with girls, a middle way brings the best result. The man who knows how best to foster woman's passion in his own beloved and how to win her heart will be her choice. A girl who is courted by a man she does not care for will be anxious, frightened and tetchy, and will hate him forthwith. If she is not brought to experience true love, through this state of anxiety she may come to hate men in general, or be hated by them, and her suitor will turn elsewhere.[2]

[1] Leinhard reads, 'if I hurt you'.

[2] Vātsyāyana describes also the way in which a girl who has no relatives to act for her should conduct her own wooing and find herself a husband.

XII

CONCERNING WIVES

(Bhāryādikārikam)

Of Wifely duties[1]

A young woman should be wholly subject to her husband and honour him with word, heart and body, as a god. Under his instruction she should carry out the duties of the house and make it clean and neat day by day.

She should treat elder relatives, friends, servants, and the circle of her husband's acquaintances, according to the dignity of each, without arrogance or deceit. She should wear a white, simple dress for her own recreation, and when entertaining, and a red and costly one for her husband's pleasure.

In the garden she should plant marjoram, three species of jasmine, patchouli and flowering and sweet-scented herbs—fruit trees, radishes, kāla, gourds, acacia and so on.

She should not converse with whores, witches, begging nuns, women who follow actors or gallants, nor with herb and potion-sellers. She should give her husband every day the meals he desires, according to what she knows he likes, and what is good for him.

If she hears the voice of a visitor she should stand

[1] Kāryesu dāśī karnesu mantrī
rūpe ka Laksmī ksamayā dharitri
sneha ka mātā śayanesu veśya
sadkarma yuktā kila dharma patnī

In work a servant, in conversation a sage, in beauty as Lakshmi, in endurance as the Earth,
In care a mother, in bed a harlot—these six, they say, are the duties of a wife.
Sanskrit proverb.

ready to receive him, and wash both his feet. If her husband is inclined to squander his wealth she should save it on the quiet.

She should go out only by his permission, and attended. She should go to bed after him and rise before him. She should never leave him asleep, nor interrupt him at his devotions, but share in his religious observances and his vows.

She will not loiter in corners, or at the door, nor scold. She will avoid lonely spots and huts, and not converse needlessly with any man.

In making purchases she will take proper account of prices, and what is in season. She will make provision of utensils of wood, clay, leather and metal in suitable numbers and qualities. She will keep a stock of scarce medicaments. She will keep proper accounts and regulate her spending according to income.

She will keep a sharp supervision over the use of hay, chaff, corn, wood, charcoal and ash, the employment of servants, the rota of duties and the reconditioning of her husband's cast-off clothes, which she will clean and issue to the servants. She will attend to the maintenance of his retinue, carts and oxen, and the inspection of monkeys, cuckoos, parrots, mynahs, cranes and the like.

She will obey her husband's elder relatives, control her language in dealing with them, avoid laughing at them openly, and behave with modesty,

She will treat a second wife as her sister, and a second wife's chidren as her own.

The Husband's absence

When her husband is away, she should wear only her lucky ornaments,[1] and live in the precepts of the gurus and Brahmins. She will have her bed at the foot of her

[1] To show she is not a widow.

elders',[1] spend little, enquire continually for news of her husband, take pains to forward any work he has left unfinished, and offer prayers and sacrifices for his luck and safety. If she visits relatives she must not go alone nor stay too long. When her husband comes back safe and sound, she can go once more to a festival and offer a sacrifice.[2]

Of polygamy

If a man has more than one wife, he must be kind and tactful, without overlooking any misconduct. He must never discuss one wife's ailments, or the intimacies between them, with another wife, or repeat any jealous remarks she may make. He will not interfere in the proper sphere of the junior wives.[3] If one of them talks of the faults of another he will tactfully reprove her. He must give pleasure to all his beloveds, so long as they live, with walks in pleasuregardens, love, care, and gifts.

1 upaguru śayanam—more probably 'lie chastely'.

2 Vātsyāyana gives it as one of the duties of a neglected wife (durbhagā) to find out privately if her husband is in love with another woman, and, if so, tactfully bring them together. We might consider this equally the duty of the husband of a viraktā—wife who does not care for him.

3 To take sides between them.

XIII

CONCERNING RELATIONS WITH STRANGE WOMEN

(Pāradārikam)

THE last section completes in brief the subject of wives. I will now deal with the pursuit of strange women.[1] This is the enemy of life and of reputation and the ally of godlessness, and it should be undertaken only under the compulsion of the ten stages of love, not simply upon impulse.

Love-at-sight first, then brooding, then scheming—loss of sleep, loss of weight, inability to concentrate, the destruction of one's sense of shame, frenzy, collapse, and finally death—these are the ten stages of love. When a man finds himself launched on this course, he is obliged to follow a strange woman to preserve his life. One can, after all, find new wives, goods, and land, beget new sons, and rebuild one's happy estate, but life is irreplaceable, and health once lost cannot be renewed.

Forbidden women

Seduction of a betrothed girl or the daughter of a

[1] Strange in the Biblical sense, i.e. who is not one's own (svakīyā). She may be someone else's wife (parakīyā) or public property (sādhāranī). At this point the prospective co-respondent must reach for a fresh set of punch-cards—the adulteress can be of six kinds, 'sly', 'reckless', 'conscience-stricken', 'scared', 'well-guarded' or 'sluttish' (vidaghā, mudita, anuśayānā, laksitā, guptā, kulatā) and there are at least nine named varieties of whore. After further subdivision by age and situation, Schmidt has calculated that there were 384 possible categories of nāyikā, own wives included—without counting the somatotypes (mrgī, padminī, etc.) or the sattvās, which overlap. The American sociologists who have attempted to programme marital compatibility for predictive analysis on a computer might find a modern application of this system which its authors did not foresee.

Brahmin incurs lasting pollution and a daily guilt equal to that of Brahmin-murder.

The wife of a Brahmin is not to be approached: she is not, however, absolutely to be excluded, if she has had to do with at least five men previously. This does not apply to the wives of sages,[1] friends, relations, and rulers (videlicet, they should never be seduced, however promiscuous). A woman who has been put out of her caste, a personal friend, a child, a friaress, an invalid, a woman who makes love in public, a lunatic, or one who is ill-smelling, aged, unable to keep intimate secrets, red-haired,[2] very dark, or a ward of someone else, are always to be avoided as a matter of practice[3]—but the Doctors name them particularly as unsuitable for illicit affairs.

Other cases in which it may be necessary to seek strange women

1. 'Her husband is my enemy's friend. She may contrive a split between them.' Or: 'if she falls in love with me, she may be able to influence my enemy, who now plans to kill me.'

2. 'If I go to her, I shall be out of danger.' Or: 'she is now a condition of my existence, miserable man that I am.' Or: 'she knows all my faults and still loves me—but if I drop her she may ruin me, for she may go round railing

[1] But a man may sire a child on his guru's wife by the guru's request; in fact, in ancient times he must as a duty—thus Uddalaka requested a pupil to sire him a son and got Śvetaketu. (Mahabharata XII, 34.) As for kings, Galava, wishing to give his guru a present borrowed a handsome princess and put her to stud to a number of heirless kings; then presented her, with the accrued stud fees, to his instructor Viśvamitra. He got a rebuke for his pains—'Why did you not bring her first to me? I would have sired all four sons!' Eventually the lady was returned to her husband, who by lending her had acquired salvation. This, needless to say, was a long time before Vātsyāyana. (Mahabharata V. 114—9.)

[2] Not only for aesthetic reasons—she is very likely to prove a witch (yoginī) and kill her lover.

[3] i.e. in legitimate courtship.

at me and saying "this is the sort of man he is, this lover of mine!'" Or: 'If I have intercourse with her, I shall be doing a friendly service to her.'

A man should not pursue a woman so from simple desire, but only for solid reasons of this kind, unless he feels himself about to go out of his mind with love, and cannot trouble further to ask for sound reasons.

Before embarking on an affair with a strange woman, one ought seriously to weigh the possible loss of positions, income and existing love-arrangements: it is very hard to stop the march of love once it is in motion! Love for an object which can only be enjoyed at great expense, which will be hard to get rid of, and which is forbidden in any case, is bound by its nature to progress uncontrollably to some mischief or other.

Love and loving in Man and Woman

A woman becomes enamoured on seeing a handsome man, likewise a man when he sees a handsome woman. But there is this important difference between them, that woman, once she is in love, loves regardless of convention. She will not give herself immediately to a wooer, for when she gives she does so with her whole being—a man, by contrast, conducts his love affairs with some regard to ethics, time, place, etcetera, whether to do or not to do. He is suspicious of a woman easily won, loves one who is hard to get, and is willing to risk taking pains over her in vain. So much for the difference between Man and Woman.

Reasons which may make a woman hold back[1]

I will now detail some considerations which may make a woman resist seduction—love of her husband: love of her children: fear of the consequences: in a few cases, moral

[1] sc. from an illicit love affair.

scruple: constant presence of her husband: inability to bear the knowledge of her own fault: because, although she wants to keep her wooer deeply in love, she is for the moment enjoying someone else: because she does not want to see him suffer on her account: excessive respect for him, if he is a nāyaka, or friend, or an associate of her husband; contempt for him, if he fails to notice her advances, is elderly, or her social inferior, is easily fobbed off by cunning, or has no regard to times and places; dejection at the idea that he probably makes similar advances to all his women friends, or that he does not know her heart: anxiety, if he is a public figure, or notoriously fickle: or for fear that her relatives may find out and repudiate her.

These are the commonly-cited reasons which make a woman hold back even though enamoured.

Countering these

The first five scruples above mentioned are best quieted by stepping up the level of desire. The group of objections beginning, 'I could never bear . . .' can be dispelled by showing the woman an escape route appropriate to the case. According to the Masters, over-esteem can be met by familiarity, contempt by spreading a reputation for subtletly and sexual skill, depression by polite attention, and anxiety by getting her to trust you.

Of successful seducers

Heroes: men who can tell the tale: experts in love making: the affectionate: men who can give a public performance: the robust: the cultured: those who have youth and looks: childhood playmates: partners at games or dancing: experts in story-telling and the arts: those who have previously acted as go-betweens: one who knows a woman's intimate weaknesses, even if he has no other qualities to

commend him: one who has reconciled her to a friend: one who has previously possessed a woman of qualities: one who is lovable, or of good family: a brother-in-law:[1] a favourite servant: a likeminded neighbour: a step-sister's husband: one who is lavish or generous: a lover of theatre: a man known to be of the 'ox' type: a man who has divorced his wife for good reasons: a man whose clothes and style look grand and expensive. These are the most successful seducers.

Of seducees

A woman who is always standing at the door, one who looks back at you sideways when you stare at her, one who has been thrown over and has lost her pleasures: one who is childless, and despised for lack of progeny; one who is shameless, or neglected, or who loves company; whose children have all died, who has been deserted through barrenness, or who is unjustly slighted by co-wives; a young widow, a woman who has had too many pleasures, a woman who is poor; an estimable woman who has married beneath her; an educated women who scorns her husband; an eldest daughter with many brothers-in-law; one whose husband is travelling and who helps in her relatives' house; one who is perpetually visiting relations; one who is sociable, and has a jealous husband; one who has no sons, only daughters; a handsome woman who is wronged for some reason; a young woman who is rebuked; a woman of affectionate nature—beside these, the wife of a strolling entertainer, a cripple, a dwarf, a stinkard, a bumpkin or an invalid,

[1] In some parts of India a sexual and jesting relationship between sister-in-law (bhaujī) and her husband's younger brother (dewar) is socially acceptable. It plays a large part in folk-tradition. See Hiṽal, S. (1943) *Man in India*, 23, 159—167. This is presumably the last vestige of the fraternal polyandry of the *Mahabharata*. By contrast, however, the elder brother-in-law is strictly tabu.

or one married to a poltroon, an old man, an impotent man or a waster—these women can be had for the asking.

Other observations

A woman who has the second toe of her left foot longer than the big toe or shorter than the middle toe, or whose little toes do not touch the ground or the toe next to them, who squints, has yellow-gold eyes and who smiles when she has no reason—such a one the hand-readers call pumścalī[1]—she who runs after men.

A man can be successful with women if he studies form, is familiar with their attributes, and can quiet their scruples. Concupiscence springs from the natural disposition. Strengthened by experience, and stimulated by intelligence, it becomes irresistible and unquenchable.

On making contacts

Women who speak frankly and who openly show their willingness from the outset can be wooed personally—contrary women should be approached through a go-between.

In the personal approach, one should start by getting the woman's friendship without betraying other intentions.

Next, use your glance as a go-between and a love-letter, and send it often in her direction. Keep adjusting your hair, tap with your fingernails, rattle your ornaments, press your lips together.

When you sit on a companion's knee, yawn, rub your limbs, speak stammeringly and keep twitching an eyebrow.

Make remarks, nominally about other matters, which could also refer to her—listen intently to her when she speaks, and express your desire in hints.

[1] pumścali. She is mentioned first in the White Yajur-Veda (xxx 5—6, 22).

Embrace a friend or a child over-affectionately. Pretend to fondle her children on her knee and in doing so contrive to touch her body. Give toys to these same children, and having so made contact with their mother, strike up an acquaintance.

Keep dropping in upon her, so that the people of her house get to know and like you. Tell her equivocal and significant love-stories, to which she will probably listen unsuspecting.

Once you have quickened her love, give her a clear token—in this frequent, or even daily, intimacy, take an opportunity to put an arm round her.

Set her on a basis of intimacy with your own wife. When she has something to buy or sell, assist her to arrange it—throw dust in the eyes of the other party, and so establish an obligation between you.

Stage a dispute with her or her folk over some question of history or fact, make a wager on it, then call to ask her the result.

Having won her friendship by these means, you watch for her signal to you. When you get it, you can conclude that for a while she has said goodbye to her scruples.[1]

Concerning come-hither signs

A woman in love does not look you straight in the eye, but becomes confused after a moment and looks away. She manages on various pretexts to let you see her body for a moment. She draws on the ground with her toes. She looks at you surreptitiously and smiles—either from time to time, or all the time. If a child is on her knee she kisses it and talks to it with conspicuous affection. If asked a

[1] There seems to be a certain discrepancy between the urgent infatuation, which, according to Kokkoka, alone justifies the exercise, and this calculating and patient operational approach to seduction: Could one of the two, moral precept and practical instruction, possibly be ironic? If so, it is likely to be the moral precept.

question she looks down, says something unintelligible and confused, and smiles. On one pretext or another she hangs about where her man is, talking loudly, in the hope that he will notice her: when she knows he is looking she carries on an animated conversation as cover. When he appears, she smiles in his direction. She sits on a girl-friend's lap and plays all manner of jokes. She strikes up acquaintances with her servants, plays games and chats with them—she then asks for news of him. She confides in her friends and talks to them about love. She will not let him see her unadorned—if a friend asks her to make her a garland she hands it over as if reluctantly. She sighs, looks sideways, beats her breasts with her hand, stifles when talking, taps with her fingers, says ambiguous things and then is embarrassed, yawns, beats the man she loves with flowers; draws an elaborate brow-mark for her friends, touches her hips, opens her eyes wide, lets her hair down, visits the man's house on one pretext after another, sweats from her hands and feet, and wipes her brow with her arm—'how many girls has he? how many beauties? which does he like most among them?'—so she questions her intimates privately with deep concern.

Of seduction—final stages

Once she has given you your sign, you can proceed at once to the touching-embrace (sprstaka), and the others in order.

When you bathe together, covertly touch her breasts and buttocks. Give out that you are sick—if she comes to inquire how you fare, seize her hand, ask her to smooth your brow and eyelids, and say to her tenderly, but ambiguously,[1] 'comfort my pain, my lovely—remember it is

[1] So that in the event of trouble you could mean only 'Please tend my sickness, for the excitement of your visit has made me worse.' The Indian lover is hardly rash in his avowals.

you who cause it. Surely with all your qualities, O slender one, you won't refuse me this?' Then ask her to undertake some service, such as the pounding of herbs for your medicine.

When you give each other betel, flowers and so forth, touch her lightly with your nails; offer her leaves with significant nail and toothprints on them.

Finally, get her in a private spot, and there, little by little, enjoy the pleasures of passionate embraces and the rest, and you will pour to the Teacher of Love-Science the repeated libations which your long-nourished desires have stored up.

Women are most inclined to love, and most easily conquered, at night and in pitch darkness—approached under these conditions there is hardly a man to whom they can say No. Lastly, for seduction avoid any place inhabited by an old lady who has enjoyed carnal copulation in her time, for where one person has been successfully wooed, it is unlucky to woo a second.[1]

Testing her mind (Bhāvaparikśa)

In the course of soliciting a woman, you must try her mind carefully, to see whether she is responding or not. If not, then the teaching is that she will need to be softened by a go-between. If she is responding but is still in two minds, she will come to hand little by little. If she does not openly accept your advances, but nevertheless loiters conspicuously in lonely places, wearing all her ornaments, she is asking to be taken by force. If she accepts an assignation and lets you woo her, she is in love, and can be taken of her own free will. If she shrinks from your advances because she is frightened for her own safety but not for

[1] But lucky to build a temple—one function of the maithuna group prescribed by the Ācharyas for temple gateways is to ensure the presence of this Mana of successfully-accomplished wooing.

yours, you can win her by great gentleness. If she is unwilling but still betrays her love, she will be easily won. If when invited to love she gives a clear answer, she is already conquered, and if she herself makes the advances she was conquered before you began.

I have given here the detailed rules which apply to women of firm, but not over-bold or forward disposition. I have also made plain how one can tell when a woman has been won.

Of Go-betweens (Dūtīkarma)

I will now give a short account of the use of go-betweens.[1] A go-between obtains the ear of the woman by her good character, by offering her magical recipes as a storyteller, and so on. She acquaints the woman with lucky charms and beauty-spells from the Veda, medicinal herbs, poetry, and new ways of love-making. When she has gained her confidence, the go-between will say to her, 'You know, my dear, with your looks, your skill, your intelligence and your character, you are wasted on such a husband as yours. Oh, how fate has cheated your youthful beauty, which is so averse to everything vulgar and cheap! That jealous, ungrateful, bloodless, double-dealing and none-too-brainy husband of yours isn't fit to be your footman. What a crying shame!'

By constantly decrying him in these terms she will implant in the woman seeds of aversion against her husband. Any faults his wife sees in him will automatically be magnified.

When the occasion comes, the go-between will next enlarge on the qualities of the suitor. Once she has awakened interest, she will say, 'listen, my dear—I think

[1] There is no one word for dūtī: I have kept 'go-between' though she is not always one in fact—'bawd' implies prostitution—'seductrix' is as close as one can get.

you ought to be told. That poor, lovely young fellow is sick. They're afraid for his life. Ever since you looked at him, he has pined—you might as well have been a snake and bitten him: sighing, sweating, falling into a decline—and he never could stand a great deal of sorrow. He says that as the Gods drink nectar from the Moon, so he must drink from your beauty, or he will die. My dear, never, even in a dream, has he been so ill!' If this does not seem to disturb the lady, she will at her next visit begin telling her stories of Ahalyā[1] and others, then about women whose dealings with lovers were accounted virtue in them. Proceeding in this way she gradually makes her object clear.

By now, your Lady jokes with the go-between when she sees her; lets her sit next to her, asks if she has eaten and how she slept, inquires her news and generally treats her as an intimate. She sighs, yawns, gives her extra money, asks, when the go-between rises to go, 'When will you come again?'; she relishes her stories, saying, 'How can you tell such scandalous tales when your conversation is so proper? I won't do what you say. I think the fellow is a dissembling rogue.' She laughs about his illness, and mocks him all the more. If at this stage the go-between has actually conveyed his proposal, the suitor should give her a bonus.

The go-between will continue to ply the lady with gifts of betel, flowers, and perfume. Once she has made her thoroughly enamoured, she will arrange for the pair to meet accidentally, taking advantage of a family disaster, a wedding, or a festival; or else in a park, at a drinking-party, at a procession, when bathing, when a fire breaks out, when some emergency threatens, or in the go-between's own house.

[1] Wife of Gautama, seduced by the God Indra.

Varieties of go-betweens (dūtī)

A go-between who understands her principal's intention, manages the whole affair and sees it to completion is known as nisrstārtha (a 'chargée d'affaires').

A go-between who only takes the matter to the point of getting some response, but does not finish the business, is parimitārtha (a limited negotiator).

One who merely carries messages between lovers is patrahārī (a letter carrier).

One who ostensibly acts as agent of a lover, but is actually in business on her own account and promoting schemes of her own, is called svayamdūtī (a private operator).[1] She may pose as an innocent, gain the confidence of a man's wife, but secretly learn from her all her husband's secrets and seduce him for herself. Such is a 'naive' (mugdhā)[2] dūtī.

A lover can employ his own wife as an unwitting go-between, if he introduces her to his mistress, knowing she will boast of his sexual skill. Such a wife-go-between is called bharyadūtī.

One can send a young girl, or a nun, who knows none of the tricks of the trade, to smuggle a love-letter in a garland or an ear ornament. A young girl who has no idea what is afoot and who carries letters hidden in jewellery, or leaves with nail and toothmarks on them is called a 'dumb' go-between (mūkadūtī).

[1] Either she will seduce the seducer for herself, or she will be a procuress acting as a two-way go-between, first upsetting a married woman, then finding her a lover.

[2] mugdhā ('trembling'); a young girl with no sex experience, as opposed to praudhā, pragalbhā, a mature woman; here a separate category of dūtī. According to Vātsyāyana, she sows every sort of dissension between husband and wife, making ostentatious nail-marks on herself and for the wife to see. This type of dūtī is perhaps the only one commonly extant in our own culture.

One Indian translation I have seen makes her a double agent—employed by the seducer to get round his mistress, but squared by the seducer's wife to drop hints, behave tactlessly, and betray the whole plot to the aggrieved husband.

A 'dumb' go-between who carries messages with a double meaning, previously agreed signs, or private allusions not generally comprehensible, is called a wind-go-between (vātadūtī): in this case the lady can send a reply without fear of detection.

Reliable go-betweens are: slave-girls, friends of the lady, young girls, widows, wise-women, artists, garland-sellers, perfumers, wives of laundrymen, begging nuns, pedlarwomen, nurses, and neighbours.[1] Men of the world also use parrots and mynahs, as well as pictures,[2] for purposes of seduction.

Some lovers, who have employed slave-girls to reconnoitre for them, actually force their way into other men's harems. This practice brings reprobation both in this world and the next, and I will pass over it in silence.

[1] All of them feminine. For 'artists' Schmidt reads, 'professional jesters'.
[2] or 'to mirror their wishes'—as tape-recorded indoctrination.

Books XIV and XV

CONCERNING LOVE-SPELLS
CONCERNING RECIPES

I HAVE not translated these two books of the Ratirahasya, for the following reasons: they are appendices to the main work, differing a good deal in contents from MS to MS: they are of little contemporary interest: and owing to the fact that all the plants, etc., used in the recipe sections are Indian, and their identity is often doubtful, they are largely unintelligible in any case.

Their contents are as follows:

Book XIV

Spells

The Kāmeśvara spell
The Kundalinī spell
The sacred syllable Om
The Hrllekha spell
The heptasyllabic spell
The Cāmunda invocations
Other magical means

(Of the last we may perhaps quote this one. 'A woman wets immediately if she is sprinkled with powder made from two teeth of a King, mixed with the two wings of a bee, powdered, and a petal blown by the wind from a funeral wreath.')

Book XV

Medicamenta

Against fluor seminis

To heighten potency
To slow ejaculation

'One may delay ejaculation if at the time of congress one presses hard at the root of the vas deferens, thinks of other matters, and controls the breathing by the kumbha-exercise: . . . or by firmly closing the anus and signing oneself from head to foot with the syllable Om, and with the dark-bodied, tortoise-throned Vishnu . . . likewise by tying on the buttock a bone from the right side of a black cat and taking a saptacchadda seed in the lips.')

To enlarge the penis
To better genital faults (in woman)
To adstrict or widen the queynt
To depilate
Abortefacients
Conceptuants
To ward off congenital defects
To ease labour
To cure pains in childbirth
To beautify the belly and breasts
To mend ill-odours
Cosmetics
To raise and harden the breasts
Spells

('If a man has commerce with a woman, having first rubbed his member with dung dropped by a valguli-bird on the wing, she will never have to do with any other man.')

To make impotent
To raise hatred
Seductants
Various additional receipts.

There is a full version of these medicaments, with a list of the Latin names of plants, etc., in Lienhard's edition.

COLOPHON

With zeal was this book written by Kokkoka, son of Pāribhadra, whose praise the beloved of Gods, Men and Serpents celebrate; the grandson of Tejoka, honoured in the college of learned Poets, son of the poet Śrīgadya Vidyādhara—named THE SECRET OF THE GAME OF LOVE, for the greater enjoyment of all lovers.

THE END

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